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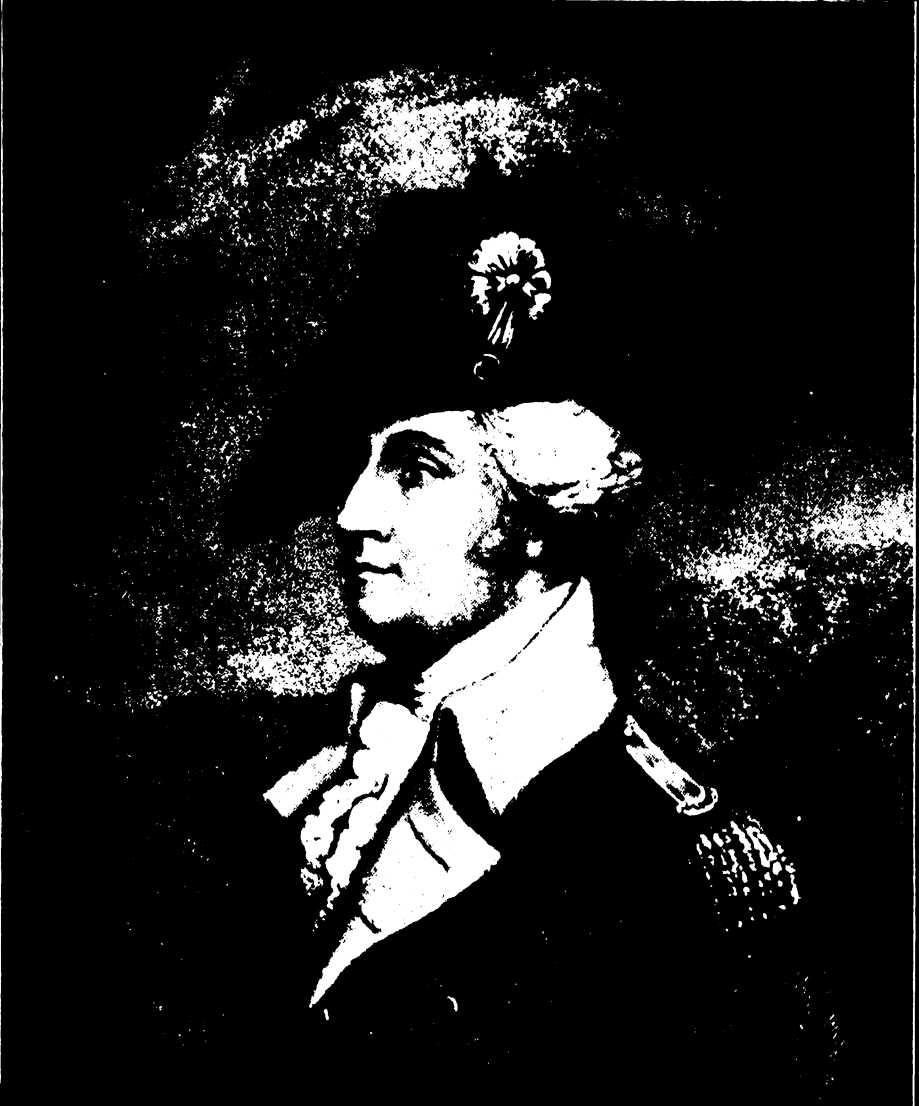
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ANTHONY WAYNE

THE HISTORY OF THE

UNITED STATES

ANTHONY M. LENT

BY JOHN A. LENT

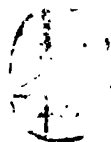
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PERE MARQUETTE

BY JARLD SPARKS

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JARED SPARKS

ANTHONY WAYNE

By JOHN ARMSTRONG

HENRY HUDSON

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PÈRE MARQUETTE

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LIFE
OF
ANTHONY WAYNE
BY
JOHN ARMSTRONG

ANTHONY WAYNE.

ANTHONY WAYNE, the elder, was a native of England, who, under an impulse of character or of fortune, quitted the land of his birth, and, about the year 1681, established himself in Ireland, as an agriculturist. In the contest for supremacy between William of Orange and the exiled James, which took place in 1690, he entered the army of the former, and at the battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick rendered the state some important services; an obligation, which, though amply acknowledged at the time, was soon forgotten by the receiver.

Displeased with this inattention of the government, and not satisfied with either the civil institutions or social habits of the country of his adoption, he at the advanced age of sixty-three years became an adventurer in a distant land. Arriving in Pennsylvania in 1722, and finding there a fruitful soil and temperate climate, a peaceful, industrious, and thriving population, and a government of mild and paternal character, he purchased and

occupied a farm in the county of Chester ; where, on the 1st of January, 1745, his namesake and grandson, the subject of our present notice, was born.

Of the boyhood of the younger ANTHONY WAYNE we have no information, other than that afforded by a letter written by his uncle and preceptor, Gilbert Wayne, who had formed some unfavorable prognostics of his nephew's capacity for literature.

"I really suspect," says Gilbert, "that parental affection blinds you ; and that you have mistaken your son's capacity. What he may be best qualified for, I know not ; but one thing I am certain of, that he will never make a scholar. He may make a soldier ; he has already distracted the brains of two thirds of the boys, under my direction, by rehearsals of battles and sieges, &c. They exhibit more the appearance of Indians and harlequins than of students ; this one, decorated with a cap of many colors ; and others, habited in coats as variegated as Joseph's of old ; some, laid up with broken heads, and others with black eyes. During noon, in place of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, &c. I must be candid with you, brother Isaac ; unless Anthony pays more attention to his books, I shall be under the painful necessity of dismissing him from the school."

Though this report was hasty, and far from being prophetic in its forebodings, it was not without its use, and, to the father of an only son, could not be indifferent. Anthony was accordingly brought to the bar, on the high charges of neglect of study, contumacy to his teacher, and ingratitude to his parents. On each of these points he was gravely and severely lectured ; and, in a tone of the utmost decision, was left to choose either a prompt and regular discharge of scholastic duties, or an immediate and lasting condemnation to farm-labor.

Fortunately the wisdom of the boy, no less than his sense of filial obedience, left no room for hesitation. Sincerely afflicted at having given pain to a father, whom he equally loved and revered, he deeply regretted the thoughtlessness of his past conduct, and resolutely determined to avoid all similar cause of offence thereafter. With these new views and feelings, he returned to his uncle ; gave up at once his military rehearsals, mud forts, and sham battles ; applied himself diligently to his studies, and, at the end of eighteen months, not only satisfied his teacher that he possessed a capacity for scholarship, but even drew from him a confession, that, "having acquired all that his master could teach, he merited the means of higher, and more general instruction." The father coinciding in this opinion, Anthony was imme

diately sent to the Philadelphia Academy, where he remained till his eighteenth year; when, having acquired a competent knowledge of mathematical and astronomical science, he returned to his native county and opened an office as a land-surveyor.

The peace of 1763 having about this time given to Great Britain a full and uncontested possession of Nova Scotia, it entered into her policy to colonize her newly acquired territory; and to this end associations of individuals, residing in the older provinces, were encouraged to seek grants of land from the crown, on conditions requiring only small investments of capital. A company of merchants and others in Pennsylvania, of whom Dr. Franklin was one, engaging in this speculation, an agent was required, who should visit the territory offered for settlement; inspect the soil, as regarded the purposes of agriculture; ascertain the means of commercial facility connected with it; and, under these several views, locate the tract to be granted. It will be thought highly creditable to Mr. Wayne, then in his twenty-first year, that, of the many applicants for this agency, he should have been chosen on the special recommendation of so discriminating a judge as Dr. Franklin; and, what may be considered as redounding still more to his credit, that, after a full trial of his qualifications, the additional

trust of superintending the settlements actually made, should have been continued in him, until, in 1767, the menacing character of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies put an end to the enterprise.

In the year last mentioned, Mr. Wayne married the daughter of Benjamin Penrose, an eminent merchant in Philadelphia; after which he again returned to Chester County, resumed his business of surveying, and in the pauses of its exercise devoted himself to agriculture. In this last employment he found much to gratify his taste, and not a little to call forth his care and industry; but the time was now fast approaching, when occupations of this peaceful and unambitious character must give way to others of deeper and more commanding interest, involving the security of life, liberty, and property.

Great Britain, at the period to which we have brought our story (1774-5), had pursued her policy of taxing the colonies (in violation of their chartered rights) to a point, which left no hope of escape, but by resistance. Mr. Wayne was among the foremost of his compatriots to arrive at this conclusion; and, knowing well the value of preparation in war, he immediately abstracted himself from the political councils of the province, and gave his whole time and labor to the institution and instruction of military associations

throughout the county. In this career his success offers the best evidence of the zeal and discretion with which he pursued it ; as, in the short space of six weeks, he was able to assemble and organize a volunteer corps, "having more the appearance of a veteran, than of a militia regiment." *

Indications of military character like these could not long escape public notice ; and we accordingly find, that early in January, 1776, Congress conferred on Mr. Wayne the rank of Colonel, and the command of one of the four regiments, required from Pennsylvania, in reinforcement of the northern army. In the discharge of the duties growing out of this new appointment, the Colonel was alike diligent and successful ; the regiment was speedily raised, equipped, and marched to Canada ; where, about the last of June, it formed a part of Thompson's brigade, then stationed at the mouth of the river Sorel.

Major-General Sullivan, on whom the command of the northern army had now devolved, arriving at this post about the same time with Wayne, and being informed that the British commander-

* See *The Casket*, a work published in Philadelphia, containing a Biography of General Wayne founded on documentary and other evidence, (furnished by his son, Colonel Isaac Wayne,) to which we are indebted for nearly all the preceding facts.

in-chief had hazarded a detachment of six hundred light infantry as far westward as the village of Trois Rivières without any sustaining corps, immediately adopted a plan for striking at the detachment, recapturing the post, and establishing upon it a heavy battery, which, if not sufficient entirely to prevent the ascent of the British armed vessels and transports to Montreal, might for a time so embarrass the navigation, as greatly to retard their progress thither.* With these views, he on the 3d of July despatched Thompson with three regiments (St. Clair's, Wayne's, and Irvine's) to Nicollete, a village on the southern side of the St. Lawrence, and nearly opposite to that of Trois Rivières. Of this enterprise, the first steps were singularly fortunate; Nicollete was reached, the St. Lawrence crossed, and a landing effected, without exciting in the enemy the slightest alarm. The distance yet to be marched did not exceed four miles; a direct and unobstructed road led to the British camp, and two hours of darkness yet remained to cover the movement.

Under these favorable circumstances, and during a short halt made to refresh the troops, a report was circulated, "that a place called the White-house (still nearer to the assailants than Trois Rivières) was occupied by an advanced guard."

* St. Clair's *Narrative*, pp. 235 - 239.

Unfortunately the General was a tactician of the old school, believed firmly in the maxim, that "troops acting offensively should leave no hostile post in their rear," and accordingly, instead of carrying his attack directly on the enemy's main body, turned aside to surprise what, at most, could be but an out-lying picket. On reaching the reported site of this unimportant object, the General to his great mortification discovered, that the information on which he had acted was wholly unfounded, and that "no enemy either had occupied, or was destined to occupy that point."

If in this case General Thompson believed too much and too hastily, his next error lay in refusing his confidence where it would have been safely and usefully bestowed. The great evil of the last movement obviously arose from the loss of time it involved, which could now only be repaired by one of two means; a forced march, at the risk of greatly diminishing his strength by fatigue; or the discovery of a route, which should considerably shorten the distance to the point of attack. Such a one was fortunately found and clearly indicated, which, besides being two or three miles the shorter, offered the means of entire concealment, as "it led altogether through woods and enclosures." But, though the experiment was vigorously begun and pursued for half an hour, the General, becoming at once impatient

and suspicious, directed the return of the troops to the place of their landing. In executing this movement, the morning broke upon him, and the corps becoming visible to the enemy produced an alarm fatal to all the purposes of the expedition. Driven from one point to another, and always met and overmatched in force, his last resource lay in replunging into a morass of considerable extent, from which he had but just extricated himself; and in which he and a few others, who continued to adhere to him, were soon after captured by the enemy. Colonel St. Clair, the officer next in rank, being about the same time disabled by an injury received in one of his feet, the farther direction of the movement devolved on Wayne; who, though severely wounded, so conducted it, as to carry over in safety the mass of the brigade to the western side of the River Des Loups; whence it made its way along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence to the village of Berthier, and thence to the American camp at the mouth of the Sorel.

The error, of holding this last-named position as one of defence, was not discovered by General Sullivan, till late in June; when a heavy British column was seen marching in the direction of Montreal. The alarm produced by this fact, and by the obvious facility with which Carleton could now by a short march get possession of Chamblee

and St. John's, and thus completely cut off the retreat of the American army, removed all further doubt and hesitation. An order was accordingly issued, directing an evacuation of the post and an immediate retreat to Lake Champlain.*

To Wayne and the Pennsylvania regiments was assigned the duty of covering this movement; and so critical was it in point of time, that the boats latest in getting into motion were not beyond the reach of musket-shot, when the head of the enemy's column entered the fort. What remained of the retreat, after leaving St. John's, was made without molestation or alarm; and on the 17th of July, the army, and its hospital, baggage, and stores, were safely lodged at Ticonderoga, the point selected for future defence.

It was not till October, that the British general found himself in a condition to renew the campaign. After defeating a small naval armament on the lake commanded by Arnold, he advanced his army to Crown Point; whence he began a series of close and careful reconnoitings, preliminary to the attack of the American fortress. The result of these precautions was, however, very different from what had been expected. The old fortifications were found to have been so repaired, and new ones so multiplied, as to forbid an assault;

* St. Clair's *Narrative*, pp. 240 - 242.

while, from the lateness of the season and condition of the weather, a siege and an investment became equally hopeless. Under these new impressions, the British general determined to suspend all offensive operations till the spring, and accordingly withdrew his army to Canada for the winter.

While these events took place in the north, others of a character still more interesting occurred in the south. Defeated on Long Island and driven from New York, Washington was now hastily retreating through the Jerseys; and with forces so depressed in spirit and diminished in number, as to render indispensable a large and prompt reinforcement. The moment that Gates was able to assure himself, that Carleton's retrograde movement was not a *ruse de guerre*, he hastened to meet this new exigence, by marching eight regiments to the aid of the Commander-in-chief.*

In selecting a person, to whom in his absence the important trust of defending Ticonderoga could best be confided, Gates at once designated

* General Thomas, who was sent to succeed General Wooster in the command of the northern army, died on the retreat from Quebec, June 2d, 1776. Sullivan, who was then sent to succeed him, was superseded in the command by Gates, who joined the retreating army at Crown Point and continued in command of it, until called to the south by the circumstances mentioned in the text.

Wayne, assigning to his command two thousand five hundred men ; an arrangement acceptable to the troops, and so entirely approved by Congress, that the better to sustain it, this body soon after conferred on the Colonel the rank of Brigadier-General, and continued him in command of the post until the ensuing spring ; when, at his own earnest and repeated solicitation, he was called to the main army. Arriving at head-quarters on the 15th of May, he was immediately placed at the head of a brigade, " which," as Washington remarked on the occasion, " could not fail under his direction to be soon and greatly distinguished." Nor was it long, before an opportunity offered of showing how well this complimentary prediction was verified.

It will be remembered, that the expulsion of Congress from Philadelphia, and the capture of that city, formed the leading objects of the British general in the campaign of 1777. To accomplish this project, two modes of proceeding suggested themselves ; the one, a water approach by sea and the river Delaware ; the other, a rapid movement by land across New Jersey and a part of Pennsylvania. Neither of these plans could however entirely escape objections ; against the former were urged the hazards and uncertainty inseparable from a coasting voyage, and a river navigation little known and already much ob-

structed by art; against the latter, the more imminent perils that would attend a march of a hundred miles, over a route abounding in defiles and intersected by a river, not to be crossed but by means of boats or bridges, with a hostile population in front, and a vigilant, active, and efficient enemy in the rear. Under these views of the subject, it was decided, that "the land-march should not be attempted, unless, as a preliminary, Washington's means of disturbing it could be promptly and greatly diminished;" an effect not to be produced but by the issue of a battle, "fought on ground less advantageous to the American general, than that he at present occupied." To withdraw him, therefore, from his strong position at Middlebrook became a leading object with the British general, and an experiment not to be longer postponed. Two heavy columns were accordingly advanced in the month of June to Brunswick, whence they so manœuvred for several days in succession, as to indicate alternately a direct attack on the American camp, and a flank movement on Philadelphia. Finding however that these demonstrations altogether failed in forwarding the purpose for which they were employed, Howe, as a new expedient, adopted that of a counterfeit alarm for his own safety, and an apparently hurried and irregular retreat to Staten Island.

The design of the preceding movement forbidding its concealment, it soon and necessarily became known to Washington; who, not immediately perceiving its true character and object, was unwilling to lose any advantage to be derived from it, and accordingly made dispositions for pursuing and attacking the retreating enemy. To this end, the corps respectively commanded by Sullivan, Maxwell, Wayne, and Morgan, were directed to begin the pursuit; while, with the main army, the General should follow in person to sustain an attack, or cover a retreat. Of the corps above mentioned, Sullivan's failed to arrive in time, "from the distance it had to march," and that of Maxwell, "from the capture or desertion of an express, charged with the delivery of an order;" whence it followed, that what was intended to be done by the four corps, fell exclusively upon two of them, those of Wayne and Morgan; which, though on this occasion unable to do more, sufficiently illustrated their own high and chivalrous gallantry. In reporting the affair to Congress, the General says of them, "They displayed great bravery and good conduct; constantly advancing on an enemy far superior to themselves in number, and well secured by redoubts." *

* General Washington's Letter to Congress of the 22d of June, 1777. — Sparks's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. IV. p. 470.

During these occurrences, Washington reached Quibbletown; whence he pushed forward Stirling's division to the neighborhood of Matuchin meetinghouse; two circumstances, which could not readily escape the notice of Howe, and which determined him to march rapidly, with a part of his force, on the new position taken by his adversary; while Cornwallis with another part should endeavor to seize the heights of Middlebrook. In attempting to execute this project, the movement was fortunately discovered by an American reconnoitring party; by whom Washington was promptly apprized of his danger, and thus enabled to regain and secure his former position.

Howe, having now lost the only chance his wary antagonist had given him of executing his favorite purpose, and hoping nothing from any new experiment made with similar views, hastened back to New York, to begin his preparations for approaching Philadelphia by a sea-voyage. It was not however till July, that, with all his motives for expedition, the fleet and army were in condition to leave the Hook, nor till the 24th of August, that they reached their destination at the Head of Elk. From this point, the latter began its march northward, on the 3d of September; and, meeting with little if any opposition, arrived early on the 11th at the southern bank of the Brandywine; a small stream, behind which Wash-

ington had made his dispositions for trying the fortunes of a battle.

By these arrangements the defence of Chad's Ford, the point most accessible to the enemy, was committed to Wayne, who on this occasion had a second brigade and a portion of Procter's artillery added to his command. On his left, and two miles distant from it, lay Armstrong's division; and on his right, those of Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen, while that of Greene was held in reserve at a central point in the rear. A short *reconnoissance* enabled Howe to form his plan of attack. Leaving Knyphausen, with a considerable corps, at the ford to amuse Washington by demonstrations on his centre, he detached Cornwallis with the bulk of the army to the forks of the river, with orders there to gain the northern bank, and thence to pursue his march downward and take Washington's position in the rear, while Knyphausen, forcing the ford, should attack it in front.

Though on this occasion means for obtaining early and correct information of the enemy's movements had not been neglected, yet it so happened, that the American general continued to be unapprized of the strength and probable object of Cornwallis's column till two o'clock in the afternoon; when, finding a new disposition of his army necessary, he directed the three divisions

forming the right of his line, to change their front and move rapidly in the direction of the expected attack. At half after four o'clock this began, and for a short time was well sustained; but, from causes never sufficiently explained, the right flank of the American line suddenly gave way, and was soon followed by the flight and disorder of its centre and left. The head of the pursuit was, however, soon and fortunately met by two regiments of the reserve, whose bearing was such as caused the assailants to halt, and thus effectually covered the retreating corps.

The firing on the left being the signal for Knyphausen to act, this officer began his movement accordingly; but, notwithstanding the weight and vigor of his attack, and the aid it received from a heavy covering battery, he was unable to drive Wayne from his position till near sunset; when, being now apprized of the defeat sustained in his rear, this officer thought it prudent to withdraw his division to the main army.*

On the 16th the contending generals again approached each other, with the mutual design of fighting another battle. On this, as on other occasions already mentioned, Wayne was assigned to the post of honor, that of leading the Ameri-

* See a full account of the Battle of the Brandywine in Sparks's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. V. pp. 56 - 59, 456.

can attack ; a service he performed with the gallantry now become habitual to himself and the division he commanded. The action took place near the Warren Tavern, was close and sharp as long as it lasted, and would in a few minutes have become general, but for a deluge of rain which separated the combatants. Finding on examination, that, from the defective construction of the tumbrils and cartouch-boxes of the American army, its whole stock of field ammunition had been rendered useless by the rain, an immediate retreat became necessary to Parker's Ferry, where alone a fresh supply of that indispensable article could be promptly obtained.

The position on the Schuylkill, to which the preceding accident had brought Washington, not being unfavorable to his present views of defending the several fords on that river, he took post on its eastern bank ; and being informed, that Howe continued to linger near the position he occupied on the night of the 16th, he despatched Wayne to the neighborhood of Tredyfrin "to watch the movements of the enemy, and, when joined by Smallwood and the Maryland militia, to cut off their baggage and hospital train." *

In prosecution of this plan, Wayne immediately re-crossed the Schuylkill, and on the 20th placed

* Washington's Letter to Wayne, dated "Reading Furnace, six o'clock, P M."

himself and his detachment three miles in Howe's rear, on ground little accessible to the enemy, and previously indicated to Smallwood, as that on which a junction of the two corps could be most promptly and securely formed. Night coming on and Smallwood not having arrived, Wayne proceeded to plant his pickets and sentinels, and throw forward patrols of horse, on the different roads leading to the camp. Under these circumstances, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening the General was informed by a friendly citizen, that a boy of the neighborhood who had, during the day, been captured and liberated by the enemy, had overheard one British soldier say to another, that "an attack on the American party would be made during the night." Though Wayne did not think it probable, that a night attack, if seriously meditated by the enemy, would have been a matter of camp-conversation during the day, or that the soldier announcing it could have been otherwise made acquainted with the design ; still, believing that a little surplus precaution could do no harm and might do much good, he hastened to act on the information as credible in itself, and accordingly multiplied both his pickets and patrols, directed the troops to repose on their arms, and, as it was then raining, to put their cartouch-boxes under their coats.

Thus prepared to meet the attack or to withdraw from it, as circumstances might direct, he was at eleven o'clock apprized of the near approach of a British column; when, conjecturing from the direction of its march, that the attack was aimed at the right of his position, he immediately ordered Colonel Humpton, second in command, "to wheel the line and move off by a road leading to the White-horse Tavern; while with the first Pennsylvania regiment, the light infantry, and the horse, he should post himself on the right and cover the retreat." Under this disposition, the artillery and its *attirail* moved, and sustained neither injury nor loss; nor would any have befallen the infantry, had the order given to Humpton been promptly obeyed.* But from negligence or

* It was hardly to be expected from the details given in the text, that Wayne should have found an accuser in the person, whose disobedience had caused all the injury, public and private, suffered on the occasion; yet such was the fact. Seeking the means of exonerating himself from censure, Humpton preferred the following charge; "that, though Brigadier-General Wayne had timely notice of the enemy's intention to attack the troops under his command, on the night of the 20th of September last, yet, notwithstanding this intelligence, he neglected making a disposition, until it was too late either to annoy the enemy or to make a retreat, without the utmost danger and confusion." On this accusation Wayne was tried by a general court-martial; when, after a full and patient hearing of all the testimony adduced.

misapprehension, this officer failed to put the troops in motion, till thrice ordered to do so; and by this delay subjected the line to the loss of "one hundred and fifty gallant men." *

the court decided *unanimously*, "that General Wayne was not guilty of the charge exhibited against him; but that, on the night of the 20th of September, he did every thing that could be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer, under the orders he then had; and do therefore *acquit him with the highest honor*." The preceding sentence being approved by the Commander-in-chief, Wayne was immediately reinstated in his command.

* Mr. Marshall, whose general accuracy as a historian is readily admitted, has been led into errors in relation to this affair. First, the location given to Wayne's encampment is not correct. It was not, as he says, "near the entrance of the road leading from Derby into that of Lancaster" (exactly the position of the Paoli Tavern), but two miles farther to the west. Secondly, the attack made by Grey was not a surprise. To have made it such, it was necessary to show, on the part of the General, an ignorance of the enemy's intention, or a want of preparation to meet or to avoid his attack. Yet it is in proof, that he was informed of the enemy's purpose between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and that every part of the corps was under arms and in line, when the attack was made. Thirdly, Wayne's out-lying pickets, driven into the camp, were not the first to give intelligence of Grey's approach; he had information of the enemy's intention, as stated above. Fourthly, the American loss was not three hundred men, as asserted by the enemy and stated by Mr. Marshall. It did not exceed one hundred and fifty, as proved by the regimental reports submitted to the court-martial.

On the 21st of the month, Howe was again in motion ; and, presenting himself in front of the new position taken by the American army on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill, led Washington to believe, that his provision depot at Reading was in danger, and could only be protected by a sudden movement on his part higher up the river. The British general having thus attained his purpose, which was but to draw his adversary from the defence of the lower fords, now crossed the Schuylkill, and, detaching the *élite* to take possession of Philadelphia, he on the 26th encamped his army at Germantown and its vicinity.

The results of the campaign thus far having fallen short of the expectations of Congress and the country, a belief began to prevail, that a higher degree of daring on the part of the American army would have saved the city, or at least have much retarded its fall ; an opinion, not confined to the civil portion of the community, but extending to the army itself, and making necessary a new and speedy trial of strength with the enemy. Nor was it long before an occasion offered for trying the experiment.

Among other means employed for the defence of Philadelphia against an attack from the water, were two forts, the one erected on Mud Island near the western shore of the Delaware ; the other at Billingsport on its eastern bank ; which, with

hulks and chevaux-de-frise sunk in the river, so commanded and obstructed the navigation, as entirely prevented the ascent of the British fleet to the city. To remove impediments, so unfavorable to Howe's present convenience and future purposes, a draft of three regiments from his field force became necessary ; * as well to assist in reducing the forts, as to cover a land transportation from Chester, until that object, the reduction of the forts, could be accomplished. Assured of this fact, and that four other regiments, composing a part of the *élite*, had been retained in the city for garrison duty, Washington conceived the project of attacking and carrying by surprise the British camp at Germantown.†

The position, given to the object of this enterprise, had been carefully reconnoitred. On the eastern side of the main street of Germantown lay the right wing of the British army, encamped in two parallel lines half a mile apart, and extending to a wood about one mile distant from the town. On the opposite or western side of the street, with a formation similar to the former, and extending to the Schuylkill, lay the left wing. Few if

* His intention was "to make Philadelphia a place of arms and centre of action ; whence the war was to be carried on through the Bay of Chesapeake and the rivers of Virginia."—*British Annual Register for 1777*, p. 121.

† Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. III. p. 177

any artificial defences had been employed on this position, the security of which had been confidently committed to the courage, fidelity, and vigilance of strong picket-guards and out-posts, stationed on the different roads leading to the camp from the north and east.

Thus minutely informed with regard to the enemy's arrangements, Washington's plan of attack was soon formed, consisting, in its general outline, of a night march and double attack, consentaneously made, on both flanks of the enemy's right wing; while a demonstration, or attack, as circumstances made proper, should be directed on the western flank of his left wing.* With these orders and objects, the American army began its march from Skippack Creek, at seven o'clock in

* "The reason of our sending so many troops to attack the right was because it was supposed, that, if this wing could be forced, their army must be pushed into the Schuylkill, or be compelled to surrender." — *Sullivan's letter to President Weare of New Hampshire, dated October 25th, 1777.* The plan of attack, as stated by Sullivan and adopted in the text, differs from that given by Ramsay, Marshall, and others. According to these writers, "the plan of the enterprise contemplated an attack on both wings in front and rear at the same instant;" and to the attack of the left wing they assign the whole of Sullivan's column and Armstrong's division, producing a total want of coincidence between the plan and its execution, so far as it was executed by Sullivan and the corps he commanded.

the afternoon of the 3d of October, in two columns; that of the right, composed of the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, with Conway's brigade, and assigned to the attack of the left flank of the enemy's right wing, took the Chesnut Hill road, followed by Stirling's division in reserve. The column of the left, composed of the divisions of Greene and Stephen, with McDougall's brigade and fourteen hundred Maryland and Jersey militia, destined to the attack of the right flank of the wing aforesaid, took the two eastern roads called the Limekiln and Old York roads; while Armstrong's division of Pennsylvania militia, directed against the western extremity of the British camp, pursued the Manitawny or Ridge Road.

On reaching the summit of Chestnut Hill, two regiments, forming the head of Sullivan's column, were detached at daybreak to carry the enemy's picket-guard, stationed at Mount Airy. The attack was brisk and well conducted, but, the picket being speedily reinforced by a battalion of light infantry and the fortieth regiment, the defence became obstinate; nor was the position carried, "till Sullivan brought up in succession Conway's brigade and his own division, to support the attack." Colonel Musgrave, the British commanding officer at this point, unwilling to fall back on the main army and unable longer to maintain a contest in the

field against a force so far superior to his own, promptly determined to throw himself and six companies of the fortieth into Chew's House, a large and strong stone building, whence he is said to have kept up "an incessant and galling fire" on the advancing American column; a circumstance which, whether true or false, was not permitted to impede the progress of Sullivan and Wayne; * who, pressing eagerly forward, were soon and seriously engaged, on different sides of the road, with detachments made by the enemy from German-town. The conflicts which followed were numerous, close, and sharp; at some points decided by the bayonet, and in their issue honorable to the American arms; as the enemy, though availing himself of every house, hedge, and yard on the route, was driven back to the village as far as Church Lane. †

* We have spoken thus doubtingly of the effect of Musgrave's fire from Chew's House, on the authority of letters written by the late Colonels Pickering and Howard. The former says, "I saw not one dead man until I had passed it" [Chew's House]. The latter declares that "the fourth Maryland regiment," of which he was the Major, "was fired upon in passing Chew's House from the upper windows, but received no injury."

† Colonel Howard's letter to Colonel Pickering, January 29th, 1827. The letters of Sullivan and Howard, and other particulars respecting the Battle of German-town, may be seen in *Washington's Writings*, Vol. V

The column of the left, commanded by Greene, though getting later into action than that of the right, from the *détour* necessarily made in reaching its point of attack, had now been engaged for some time, and with fortunes not widely dissimilar from those of the right. The enemy's posts on the Limekiln route had been forced, and the right flank of his camp gained, when an unexpected obstacle, a breastwork at Lucan's Mill, gave a new direction to the march; in prosecuting which, two of the leading regiments broke into his camp, made more than one hundred prisoners, and at length debouched on the Germantown road near the market-house, where they halted amidst his park of artillery.* Thus far the battle wore an aspect favorable to the American arms, and even gave promise of eventual success; but here Fortune changed sides, and, as she generally does, took part with the strongest.

The demonstration on the left or Schuylkill flank of the enemy, which, as already stated, made part of Washington's plan, succeeded for a time in confining the attention of that wing to the security of its own out-posts; but when the day broke and the small number of the assailing corps

Appendix, p. 463. Colonel Pickering's letter to Colonel Howard is contained in the *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. p. 425.

* Howard's letter to Pickering, January 29th, 1827.

could be correctly estimated, this effect ceased.* The detachments made in support of this flank of the encampment were recalled, and means promptly taken to reinforce the right wing; which it was now seen was the only object of real attack. Grey, who led this reinforcement, was not long in reaching the scene of action; and selecting for his first experiment the two regiments, which had halted at the market-house, he put that of Stewart to flight; and, killing or capturing every man belonging to the other, hastened to the position on which he expected to find Sullivan; but, on reaching this, he to his great mortification discovered that his principal enemy had, by a rapid retreat escaped the blow he meditated against him.

Of the causes and character of this movement, common to all the advanced corps,† we have a full and faithful exposition, given by Sullivan in the following words; "My division, with the North Carolina regiment commanded by Colonel Armstrong, and a part of Conway's brigade, having driven the enemy a mile and a half below Chew's House, and finding themselves unsupported

* General Sullivan states General Armstrong's division of militia at one thousand men.

† From the letter of Howard to Pickering, it would appear, that the fourth Maryland and Hazen's regiment were the part of Sullivan's division, which last retreated from the position they had taken at Germantown.

by any other troops, their cartridges all expended, the force of the enemy on the right collecting on the left to oppose them, being alarmed by the firing at Chew's House so far in their rear, and by the cry of a light-horseman on the right, that the enemy had got round us, and at the same time discovering some troops flying on the right, retired with as much precipitation as they had before advanced, against every effort of their officers to rally them. When the retreat took place, we had been engaged near three hours; which, with the march of the preceding night, rendered them almost unfit for fighting or retreating. We however made a safe retreat, though not a regular one. We brought off all our cannon and wounded."

While the incidents above mentioned were taking place in the front, others of a character still more extraordinary occurred in the rear. The annoyance real or imaginary given from Chew's House to the advancing troops raised a question, whether it would be safe to go forward, until this unexpected fortress and its garrison were reduced. Some of the persons consulted upon this occasion perceiving, that to withhold any considerable portion of the force destined to the attack in front could not fail to jeopard, if it did not defeat, the great object of the expedition, advised to a *flank movement*, and the *designation of a regiment*,

whose duty it should be to keep Musgrave shut up in his fortress, or, if he came out, to attack and destroy him.

This common-sense advice, though so obviously sound, was unfortunately made to yield to the supposed authority of a military maxim, not well understood, and, on this occasion, entirely misapplied.* A pause in the march of the reserve and other corps† now took place; when a battery of six-pounders was promptly established and a fire opened on the house, but without making any useful impression, on either the walls or the garrison.‡ An attempt to effect by bayonets and muskets, what six-pounders had failed to accom-

*The maxim alluded to is of old date, and, during feudal wars, had great authority and extension from the fact, that baronial castles formed the principal if not the only objects of attack and defence, the garrisons of which were not very dissimilar in point of strength. In later times the application of the rule is confined to garrisons capable of self-defence in the field, and therefore formidable to the rear of an invading army; but at no time would a few men, taking refuge in a dwelling-house, neither constructed nor prepared for defence, destitute of cannon and having only a small supply of ammunition, be permitted to stop the march or otherwise disturb the operations of an army of ten thousand men.

†Amounting, according to Ramsay (Vol. II. p. 198), to nearly one half of the army.

‡Accounted for by Pickering from the false direction given to the guns. — *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. p. 425.

plish, now followed ; but being equally unsuccessful, a third expedient was found in negotiation ; when the flag, which accompanied the summons or surrender, being fired upon and its bearer killed, this also was abandoned. As a dernier resort, investment was tried, but suddenly ended by the flight of the advanced corps and the near approach of Grant and Grey in pursuit of them. To cover this retreat, fell to the share of the hero of our story, who, seizing an eminence near White Marsh church, established upon it a battery, by a well directed fire from which he so checked the enemy's career, as to give it a retrograde direction ; and thus enabled four hundred men, nearly sinking under fatigue, to escape the grasp of the enemy.* The Commander-in-chief, in his official report of this affair, says ; " In justice to the right wing of the army (composed of the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, and Conway's brigade), whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the greatest pleasure to inform you, that both the officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry, which did them the highest honor."†

* Wayne's Letter to General Washington, October 4th, 1777.

† The defeat of this enterprise has been ascribed to different causes ; to a too great extensiveness in the

The severities suffered by the American army during the ensuing winter, both in their causes and effects, must be sufficiently known to every reader of American history. On this head therefore it will be sufficient to state, that a large portion of the troops were altogether disqualified for professional duty, either offensive or defensive, by a want of clothing amounting nearly to nudity; while a deficiency of food menaced the whole of it with immediate dissolution.

To turn aside evils of such magnitude, Washington was at last compelled, in aid of the commissariat, to institute an extended military forage in the vicinity of his own camp. But though every precaution, suggested by prudence and

plan, (*Wilkinson*;) to an error in selecting the right, instead of the left wing of the British position, as the point of attack, (*Johnson*;) to negligence on the part of Count Pulaski, (*Idem*;) to a dense fog, which long covered the scene of action, (*Sullivan and others*;) and lastly, to the halt made before Chew's House. Washington, who was no pretender to infallibility, and who, like other men really magnanimous, had no scruple to acknowledge his errors, has said enough to settle this question. When asked by Governor Reed, whether any misconduct of Greene had defeated the plan? he answered; "*No, it was our own fault*;" and he might, in the words of the great Turenne, on a similar occasion, have added; "The general, who has never committed an error, has fought but few battles."

justice, was employed in the execution of this service, it was soon discovered, that a repetition of the experiment would be dangerous, and ought, if possible, to be avoided. A new and more distant theatre was therefore selected, presenting at once the means of supplying our own wants, and of depriving the enemy of many articles, convenient or necessary for him, and which, without such intervention, he would at all times be able to obtain.

Such a theatre was found on the eastern side of the Delaware; abounding in cattle, horses, and forage, and extending from Bordentown to Salem; whither, about midwinter, Wayne was detached, with a part of his division and a few Jersey militia. It will be readily seen that the execution of a duty, so directly tending to excite the animosity of our own citizens (whose property it was necessary to abstract without any sufficient equivalent), and so obviously exposed, by local and other causes, to interruption and defeat by the enemy,* could not fail to present a case of uncommon difficulty and danger. Yet, so proper in themselves, and so adroitly and vigorously pursued, were the measures adopted by Wayne, that by the middle of March, and without sustaining any material loss, he was able to bring to the camp several hundred

* Separated from them only by the river Delaware

head of fat cattle, a large number of horses fit for cavalry service, and a considerable supply of forage ; services, which procured for himself, and the corps he commanded, much new encomium from Washington and the army.

The result of two campaigns having convinced Howe, that the issue of the war in America would not be such as the British government and nation had expected, when in 1775 they engaged in it ; he, in the winter of 1777-8, sought and obtained permission to resign the command of the army, and waited only the arrival of Clinton, who had been appointed his successor, to return to England. About the 8th of June, this officer arrived in Philadelphia ; and, finding there a peremptory order for immediately evacuating the city, he hastened to carry it into execution.* A measure of this kind, so destructive of the hopes and menacing to the interest of the loyal part of the population, could not be long concealed, and accordingly soon became known in the American camp.

Washington, who at this period continued to occupy his winter position at Valley Forge, lost no time in preparing to meet the coming event ;

* This order grew out of the advanced state of our negotiations with France, and the apprehension that the Toulon fleet and army were destined to the Delaware and a coöperation with Washington against Philadelphia.

and having reason to believe, that the meditated movement would be a land march across New Jersey, he immediately despatched Maxwell's brigade and a corps of militia to Mount Holy, with orders to "break down the bridges, and otherwise obstruct the roads, on which the enemy should move." About the same time, he assembled a council of war, to whom was submitted an estimate of the relative force of the two armies, American and British ; with sundry questions on the kind and degree of opposition to be given to the latter. On this reference the council decided, that no attack should be made on the enemy while crossing the Delaware, nor any general action hazarded with him, at any other stage of his progress.*

When, therefore, it was ascertained that Clinton had crossed the river early on the 18th, Washington immediately put his troops in motion for Coryell's Ferry ; taking this upper route, as well to avoid a general action in conformity to the opinion of the council, as to keep himself prepared to preoccupy the mountain passes, leading to the posts in the Highlands, should the seizure of these make any part of Clinton's plan of operation. With these views he continued his march to Hope-well, where he arrived on the 23d ; and being

* See *Writings of Washington*, Vol. V. pp 410, 552

here made acquainted with Clinton's order of march, and of the enormous baggage and provision train which encumbered his rear,* he immediately detached Morgan with six hundred men to assail his right flank; recalled Maxwell and Dickinson to the attack of the left; and sent a small and active corps under Cadwalader to harass the rear.

After making these arrangements, and before leaving Hopewell, the American general deemed it proper to call together, a second time, his council of war; to whom he repeated his former question, "Whether it would be advisable to hazard a general action with the enemy? And, if so, in what mode it should be brought on?" The opinion now given by the council did not materially vary from that given on the 17th, "that a general action in any form would not be advisable; but that a reinforcement of 1,500 men, sent to the advanced corps now acting on the enemy's left flank, might be proper."† General Scott was accordingly detached with the prescribed number of men to the point indicated in the opinion of

* "Under the head of baggage, was comprised not only wheeled carriages, but also the bāt-horses, — a train, which, as the country admitted but one route for carriages, extended near twelve miles."

† From the opinion of both councils, Wayne dissented, believing that "circumstances should govern in the case."

the council; after which the army proceeded to Kingston.

Washington, while at this village, finding that Clinton had, on the 25th, taken the lower or Monmouth road to New York; and being thus assured that no immediate enterprise on the Highland posts was meditated by his enemy, promptly determined without further reference to councils of war to avail himself of the time yet left him, for bringing his adversary to an action, general or partial, as circumstances might direct. With this view, a select corps of one thousand men commanded by Wayne was added to the detachments already made, and the whole, now amounting to four thousand combatants, placed under the direction of Lafayette, with orders, "to lose no favorable opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear" Under these orders and with this object, the Marquis on the 26th took a position on the Monmouth road, about five miles in the rear of the British camp; but as the bulk of the army, from bad weather and want of provision, was not yet sufficiently advanced to sustain the movement, the corps was recalled early on the 27th to English Town, and the division of Lee added to it; when the command of the whole necessarily devolved on that officer, as senior major-general.*

* This command was first offered to Lee, who declined accepting it. When increased by Scott's and Varnum's brigades, he requested it.

About daybreak on the 28th, the British army was found to be again in motion, and, the fact being reported to Washington, he immediately ordered Lee to advance and attack its rear, "unless prevented by powerful reasons." Though this movement, from want of guides, was retarded until seven o'clock, nothing was lost to the object by the delay, as, on reaching the heights of Freehold, a portion of the British army was yet visible on the plain below. Lee, judging from what he now saw and from information obtained at the village, concluded that the corps before him formed Clinton's rear-guard, that its numbers did not exceed fifteen hundred or two thousand men, that it was too far behind its main body to be promptly sustained, and that by taking a different and nearer route to the point to which it was moving, it might be wholly cut off.

While attempting to execute this project, the reports brought to Lee by his patrols were so contradictory in relation to the quantum of force he would have to contend with, as to render it necessary for him to reconnoitre the enemy in person, when, greatly to his surprise he discovered, that instead of a rear-guard he was actually pursuing and nearly in contact with the enemy's main body.

In explanation of this new and unexpected state of things, it may be necessary to remark,

that Clinton, perceiving on the 27th a considerable accumulation of force on his rear, and thence inferring that his adversary meditated an attack on the encumbered part of his line, reversed on the 28th his customary order of march; despatching Knyphausen in front with the baggage and provision train, and assembling in the rear the most efficient parts of the army. When therefore a part of Lee's corps was seen descending the Heights of Freehold, Clinton suddenly wheeled his column and retraced his steps to meet and overwhelm the assailant, before it could be possible for Washington to sustain him; a movement, which, though in part repelled by Wayne, soon and necessarily brought the enemy into conflict with Lee, and on ground particularly unfavorable to that officer; being much uncovered in front, and having in its rear a morass, passable only by a single and narrow causeway, wholly unfit for the purposes of either regular retreat or speedy reinforcement. While this officer was endeavoring to extricate himself from the perils of this position, which an unauthorized movement of Scott and Maxwell had much increased,* the Commander-in-chief arrived on the field; and finding, to his great surprise and mortification, the

* Scott, having mistaken an oblique movement on his right for a retreat, quitted his position and was soon followed by Maxwell. — *Gordon* Vol. II. p. 360.

élite of the army in rapid if not disorderly retreat, he instantly stopped the movement, and ordered Lee to re-form his corps on the ground he then occupied, and make such defence of it as would enable the remainder of the army, now fast approaching, to come up to his aid. These orders were well and promptly executed, and produced all the effect expected from them; checking the enemy's career, enabling Lee to re-pass the causeway with little if any injury, and giving time to Washington to take an order of battle with the morass in his front.

After a short pause, made necessary by the uncommon heat of the weather, Clinton resumed the pursuit, made good a passage over the morass, and so manœuvred, as indicated in turn an intention to attack the centre and left wing of the American line, when suddenly throwing his whole force on the opposite flank, he made a vigorous attempt to turn that extremity; but failing in this, and forbearing to make any further offensive movement, he soon after re-passed the morass, and took a strong position on the ground Lee had occupied in the morning. Assured in the night of the safe retreat of his baggage and convoy, he hastened to follow them, and at daybreak had gained the Heights of Middletown.

In this affair, we find that the conduct of Wayne entitled him to new and high distinction. In

Washington's official report of the action, he says ; "Were I to close my account of this day's transactions without expressing my obligations to the officers of the army in general, I should do injustice to their merits and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those, who distinguished themselves, is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot however forbear to mention Brigadier-General Wayne, whose good conduct and bravery throughout the action deserve particular commendation."

During the winter and spring of 1779 a belief, equally unfortunate and unfounded, pervaded the Union, that, as either the wants or the wisdom of Great Britain would speedily put an end to the war, the delay on the part of Congress and the States, in furnishing the means necessary for an early and vigorous campaign, was a proof only of a useful and laudable regard for public economy. We need hardly remark, that this delusion, in despite of the admonitions of Washington, had the effect of keeping the army of the north in a state of great inaction until the beginning of July. About this time, a small supply of clothing and other necessary articles having been received, the Commander-in-chief hastened to organize a body of light infantry, to which he soon after assigned a service, worthy of the corps, and of Wayne who had been selected as its leader.

The project here alluded to was the recapture of Stony Point; a strong position recently taken by the enemy on the Hudson, which, besides entirely commanding the ordinary communication between the middle and eastern States,* furnished a greatly increased facility for successfully attacking the American posts in the Highlands. Aware of the importance given by these and other circumstances to the post, the enemy sought to make it impregnable; and to the natural advantages of being washed by the river on two of its sides, and covered on a third by a marsh, regularly overflowed by the tide, the hill was encircled by a double row of *abatis*; while on its summit were erected high and strong breastworks, abundantly supplied with artillery, and defended by a garrison of six hundred veteran infantry.

Wayne, believing that few things were impracticable to discipline and valor, after a careful *reconnaissance*, adopted the project and hastened to give it execution. Beginning his march on the 15th from Sandy Beach, he at eight o'clock in the evening took a position within a mile and a half of his object. By the organization given to the attack, the regiments of Febiger and Meigs, with Hull's detachment, formed the column of the right; and the regiment of Butler and Mur

* Known by the name of King's Ferry.

fey's detachment, that of the left. A party of twenty men, furnished with axes for pioneer duty, and followed by a sustaining corps of one hundred and fifty men with unloaded arms, preceded each column, while a small detachment was assigned to purposes merely of demonstration.

At half after eleven o'clock, the hour fixed on for the assault, the columns were in motion ; but, from delays made inevitable by the nature of the ground, it was twenty minutes after twelve before this commenced, when neither the morass, now overflowed by the tide, nor the formidable and double row of *abatis*, nor the high and strong works on the summit of the hill, could for a moment damp the ardor or stop the career of the assailants, who, in the face of an incessant fire of musketry and a shower of shells and grape-shot, forced their way through every obstacle, and with so much concert of movement, that both columns entered the fort and reached its centre nearly at the same moment. Nor was the conduct of the victors less conspicuous for humanity than for valor. Not a man of the garrison was injured after the surrender ; and, during the conflict of battle, all were spared who ceased to make resistance.

The entire American loss in this enterprise, so formidable in prospect, did not exceed one hundred men. The pioneer parties, necessarily the

most exposed, suffered most. Of the twenty men led by Lieutenant Gibbons of the sixth Pennsylvania regiment, seventeen were killed or wounded. Wayne's own escape on this occasion was of the hair-breadth kind. Struck on the head by a musket-ball, he fell; but immediately rising on one knee, he exclaimed, "March on, carry me into the fort; for, should the wound be mortal, I will die at the head of the column." The enemy's loss in killed and captured, amounted to six hundred and seven men.*

This affair, the most brilliant of the war, covered the commanding general with laurels. In reporting it to Congress, Washington, whose good taste as well as good sense forbade all prodigality of praise, says of Wayne; "To the encomiums he has deservedly bestowed on the officers and men under his command, it gives me pleasure to add, that his own conduct throughout the whole of this arduous enterprise merits the warmest approbation of Congress. He improved on the plan recommended by me, and executed it in a manner, that does honor to his judgment and bravery." Congress was not less sensible to his merits; and, in addition to that "cheap defence

* For the official letters and other particulars respecting this enterprise, see Sparks's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. VI. pp. 287-304, 537.

of nations" (a unanimous vote of thanks), they directed that a gold medal, emblematical of the action, should be presented to him.

Of the many complimentary letters written to Wayne on this occasion by distinguished men, we shall but make a quotation from that of General Charles Lee. "What I am going to say, you will not I hope consider as paying my court in this your hour of glory ; for, as it is at least my present intention to leave this continent, I can have no interest in paying my court to any individual. What I shall say therefore is dictated by the genuine feelings of my heart. I do most sincerely declare, that your assault of Stony Point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, throughout the whole course of the war on either side, but that it is the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history ; the assault of Schweidnitz by Marshal Laudon, I think inferior to it. I wish you, therefore, most sincerely, joy of the laurels you have deservedly acquired, and that you may long live to wear them. With respect and no small admiration, I remain, &c." *

* See *Casket*, No. IX. p. 236. We are told by Mr Marshal. (*Life of Washington*, Vol. IV. p. 70), that General McDougall, with two brigades designated for the attack of the British fort on Verplanck's Point, commanded by Colonel Webster, was stationed on the eastern side of the river, and entirely prepared for executing the project ; which was only prevented by an

Small districts of country separating hostile armies and covered on their flanks by rivers and marshes, are generally seized by the retainers of

omission, on the part of Wayne, to inform McDougall of the successful issue of his attack on Stony Point. We are compelled to say, that the whole of this statement is incorrect. First, McDougall was not at any time designated to the command of this enterprise. His agency in the business was limited to the transmission, from West Point to the eastern bank, of the two brigades destined to this service. Secondly, this transmission was not made till the morning of the 17th, and in consequence of an order sent on the 16th by General Washington. Thirdly, General Howe, the officer appointed to take charge of these troops and to direct the assault, did not reach their place of rendezvous (the Continental Village) till the evening of the 16th. Fourthly, on the 17th the division moved to Peekskill, and was halted there until a *reconnoissance*, made of the fort and directed by the General, should be reported. And, fifthly, the engineer performing this service reported, that any attempt to carry the fort by assault would be ineligible. From these facts we think ourselves authorized to conclude, that the favorable moment of "*first impressions*," supposed to be made upon Webster and his garrison by Wayne's success, was not lost by any omission of the last-named officer, but by the fact, that the two brigades destined to the attack were not in a position, that enabled them to make the assault, on the morning of the 16th; and that, on the 17th, this mode of attack was deemed ineligible by the engineer, and by the general commanding the enterprise. — *Washington's Letter, of the 16th of July, to General McDougall; and Howe's Letter, of the 17th, to General Washington.*

Money District July 1879
Dear Genl 2 O'clock A.M

The fort is Garrison
with Col. Johnston are our
Women behaved like our Officers
who are determined to be
free

Yours most sincerely
Genl Washington D.C. Wm. W. W.

one of the parties to the war, as depositories of the plunder taken from the adherents of the other. Such a position during the Revolution was found by British banditti on a neck of land lying between the Hudson and the Hackinsac; on which, the better to secure the proceeds of theft and robbery, was constructed a large and strong blockhouse, covered on its rear by the Hudson, and on its front and flanks by an *abatis* and stockade with ditches and parapets, serving as covered ways.

To break up this lawless and mischievous establishment, to withdraw from the isthmus supplies of cattle and horses intended for the use of the enemy, to decoy into the defiles near Fort Lee any British detachment sent for the protection of the blockhouse, and, lastly, to make such demonstrations, as might detain in port for a few days an armament known to be destined against the French fleet and army then at Rhode Island, formed the objects of an enterprise projected by Wayne and approved by Washington. The former marching accordingly, on the 20th of July, 1780, with the two Pennsylvania brigades, a small detachment of artillery with four six-pounders and Moylan's regiment of dragoons, arrived as intended at daybreak of the 21st at Fort Lee. Placing here two regiments in ambuscade, near

the defile through which any detachment coming to the aid of the banditti must necessarily pass, he gave to the second brigade a sustaining position in the rear, detached the dragoons down the Neck to collect and bring off the cattle and horses, while, with the first brigade and the artillery, he proceeded to the blockhouse. Here, after a short *reconnoissance*, he gave to the artillery a position within sixty yards of the work, and opened upon it a brisk and well-directed fire, kept up for somewhat more than an hour; when two expresses, in rapid succession, brought him information, that a number of boats filled with British troops were apparently in movement for the landing. As this circumstance gave reason to expect, that the primary object of the expedition might now be accomplished, Wayne hastened to withdraw the assailing troops, when unfortunately the rank and file of the first regiment, indignant at the idea of being foiled in the attack, made a rush on the blockhouse, broke through the *abatis*, attempted an escalade of the stockade, and were only recalled from their object by the remonstrances of their officers and a peremptory order of the general.*

* Wayne's *Report*, dated 22 July, 1780. — *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII. p. 116.

On reaching the second brigade, Wayne found greatly to his own mortification and that of his division, that the reported movement of the enemy had been countermanded. Still, though two objects of the expedition had thus been lost, two had been gained; the cattle and horses collected by Moylan on the Neck were safely brought off, and a delay of three days produced in the sailing of the armament from New York; which had the happy effect of entirely defeating the project, on which it was sent.

In the distribution made of the army for winter service, Wayne's division was assigned to the neighborhood of Morristown; a point important alike from the means it afforded of obtaining early information of the enemy's movements, and of keeping open and uninterrupted the communication between the posts in the Highlands and Philadelphia, then the principal source of military supplies.

Soon after the date of this arrangement, a spirit of dissatisfaction began to show itself in the corps; but in a form so little alarming, as, in the opinion of its vigilant commander, rendered unnecessary any immediate or special precaution against it. Nor was any thing discovered in the subsequent language or conduct of the troops authorizing a change of this favorable opinion, till the 1st of January following; when, after a quiet and order-

ly termination of the festivities proper to the day, the whole division with a few exceptions was found in a state of open and decided insurrection ; disclaiming all further obedience, and boldly avowing an intention of immediately abandoning the post, and of seeking, with arms in their hands, a redress of their grievances.*

To correct a state of things so unexpected and alarming, endeavors on the part of the officers were not wanting. Appeals, both urgent and frequent, addressed as well to the passions as the interests of the offenders, were faithfully but unsuccessfully tried ; compulsory means, the last resort of invaded authority, followed ; blows were given, wounds inflicted, and lives lost ; but without producing the desired effect, and tending only to embitter a strife, melancholy in its cause and hopeless in its object. At half after eleven the conflict ended ; when the insurgents, no longer obstructed, began their march to Princeton.

Wayne, anticipating only new and aggravated evils from the present temper of the troops and the riotous character of their movement, hastened on the 2d to follow and to join them ; in the hope, that, though he should fail in bringing them to a full sense of their duty, he might be able to

* *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. (1828), containing all the documentary evidence connected with the case.

impress upon them the advantage to themselves of more order in their march, of a due regard to the rights of others, and of a steady and inflexible adherence to a cause, in which they had so often fought and bled. The wisdom and the daring (for it was not without personal risk) of this resolution, combined with the conciliatory yet dignified manner in which it was executed, were not without their reward; and happily became the basis of a compromise, which, in some of its circumstances, was honorable to the insurgents and useful to the government. Overtaking the main body at Vealtown, where it had bivouacked for the night, he hastened to open a negotiation with a few of the non-commissioned officers, on whose intelligence and principle he could most rely; and was soon able to convince them, that, to obtain their own object, a change in their measures was indispensable; that, without order on their part, no proposition tending to an adjustment could be received from them; and that to this end they must begin by organizing a board or committee of their own number, with authority to make out a full and clear statement of their demands; in which case, he pledged himself to become their strenuous advocate, "so far as the claims made should be founded in justice or equity." In conformity to these suggestions, a committee of sergeants was appointed, the march to Princeton

resumed in better order, and a specification of grievances made out; which, if not numerous, were found to be sufficiently grave; "clothing generally bad in quality, and always deficient in quantity; wages irregularly paid, and in a currency far below its nominal value; and, lastly, service greatly prolonged beyond the legal term of enlistment." *

It will readily be perceived, that circumstances so unpropitious to the United States, and at the same time so unsusceptible of concealment, could not long be kept from the knowledge of the British commander-in-chief; and that, after having become known to him, he would not hesitate to avail himself of them. Apprized of the revolt during the night of the 3d of January, and made to believe that its ultimate object was a desertion to New York, he hastened to place on Staten Island a corps of five thousand infantry and artillerists, with a competent number of boats for their speedy transportation to Perth Amboy; while on the 7th he despatched written proposals to the insurgents, inviting them to a junction with

* These grievances were all shown to exist. That of *prolonged service* grew out of the use of the terms "three years, or during the war," employed in the enlistment; the officers contending that the alternative was in the choice of the government; the soldiers, that the election was in them.

him, indicating the route by which the movement could most safely be made, engaging to cover it if necessary by a body of troops, and promising "a discharge of all debts due to them by the Congress, without expecting in return any military service on their part, unless voluntarily given." These propositions, despatched on the day of their date to Princeton, were immediately delivered to the nominal commander of the insurgents; who in his turn lost no time in submitting them to the board of sergeants. By this body they were promptly and proudly rejected, the bearers of them put into close confinement, and the transaction in all its parts communicated to Wayne; with a general and solemn assurance, that, "should any hostile movement be made by the enemy, the division would immediately march, under their old and beloved commander, to meet and repel it." This new and favorable excitement on the part of the troops did not escape the notice of Wayne, who hastened to avail himself of it, and fortunately made it a powerful instrument in bringing about the amicable adjustment which soon after followed.*

* Propositions made to the soldiers and accepted by them. "First, that all soldiers of the Pennsylvania line, who had been detained beyond the legal term of enlistment, or who had been trepanned into new engagements, should be discharged. Secondly, that commissioners,

Such is the brief history of a revolt, which, in all its aspects, was more menacing to the interests of the Union, than any other single occurrence of the war; affording an example, not to be forgotten, of the mischiefs, moral and political, which a want of punctuality and justice in a government never fails to inflict upon a nation.

We have already suggested, that as early as 1777-8 the British government meditated a change of system in carrying on the war; and that, instead of wasting their time and strength in reaping iron harvests in the north, a large portion of their disposable force, naval and military, should be directed against the industry and products of the south.

Circumstances, which control alike the projects of nations and of individuals, prevented this plan from being sufficiently matured for execution till 1781, when, in addition to the army serving in

to be appointed by the Council of Pennsylvania, should hear the cases of the several claimants, and give discharges on the principles laid down in the preceding article, the oaths of soldiers to be received as sufficient evidence in all cases in which the enlistments could not be produced. Thirdly, that depreciation of pay should be made up, arrearages settled and certificates given for the amount; with a supply of comfortable clothing. And, fourthly, that a general pardon of all offences committed during the insurrection should be given to the insurgents on their acceptance of the preceding terms."

the Carolinas, several detachments were made to Virginia, under Leslie, Arnold, and Phillips, whose ravages, extending as they did from the ocean to the mountains, and even including the capital and principal towns in the State, are not likely to be soon forgotten. To restrain if possible this war of waste and depredation, and at the same time to furnish a nucleus on which the militia of the invaded territory might best be collected and formed, Washington, early in the month of April, despatched Lafayette with twelve hundred regular infantry to Virginia; and, not long after, gave to the remains of the Pennsylvania line (now amounting to eleven hundred combatants, commanded by Wayne), a similar destination.* The junction of these corps took place on the 7th of June, and was speedily followed by two occurrences, alike important and unexpected, — the immediate cessation of Cornwallis's pursuit of the "French boy," as he called Lafayette, and a new and retrograde direction given to his own movements. Falling back slowly on Westham, he thence proceeded to Richmond and subsequently to Williamsburg, where he arrived on the 23d of June. Resuming his march on the 4th of

* Both corps were originally destined to the assistance of Greene, but, at the instance of Virginia, were retained in that State for her defence against the inroads of Arnold and Phillips.

July, he on the 5th reached Jamestown Ferry, where he was obviously employed in preparing to transport his stores, spoils, and baggage, to the northern side of the river.

Lafayette, governed as well by the suggestions of his own prudence as the injunctions of his commanding general,* followed cautiously on the track of Cornwallis till the 5th, when, being apprized of his movement from Williamsburg, and present occupation at Jamestown, he hastened to take a position at Chickahominy Church; which, from its proximity to the ferry, enabled him to seize any advantage arising from haste, negligence, or indiscretion on the part of his antagonist while passing the river. Informed early on the 6th through various and well accredited channels,† that “the main body of the British army had already effected its passage to the northern bank, leaving behind it on the southern only a rear-guard of ordinary force and composition,” the American general hastened to avail himself of the circumstance, and, without awaiting the arrival of his whole army, directed Wayne to advance immediately with the *élite*, not exceeding seven hundred men, and attack this supposed rear-guard.

* Greene directed Lafayette not to hazard a general action.

† The late Judge Washington and Mr. Ludwell Lee.

In executing this order, after driving in the enemy's pickets, exterior and interior, Wayne very unexpectedly found himself within less than fifty yards of the whole British army drawn up in order of battle, and already pushing forward flank-corps to envelope him. Moments decide the fate of battles; and the mind of our hero, prompt as firm, seeing at a glance the whole extent of his danger, and knowing that boldness only could afford a sufficient security against it, resorted to a charge.* This was made with the vigor and gallantry habitual to the corps, and with the most decided effect upon the enemy. The flank movements, so menacing to the assailants, were not merely suspended, but recalled; while his centre was held in a state of great inactivity. Availing himself of these new and favorable circumstances, Wayne now retreated, as rapidly as he had advanced, and thus contrived to give to the whole movement the character of a manœuvre,

* The course pursued by Wayne was in perfect conformity to the soundest military maxims. Among others, sanctioned by the judgment and the example of Turenne, Villars, and Napoleon, are the following; — “*Surpris par une armée supérieure, un général ordinaire cherche son salut dans la retraite; mais un grand capitaine paiera d'audace, et marchera à la rencontre de l'ennemi.*” “*Lorsqu' on occupe une position où l'ennemi menace de vous envelopper, il faut vite rassembler ses forces, et menacer l'ennemi d'un mouvement offensif.*”

intended to draw the British army into an ambuscade; an impression, so decidedly made on the British general, that all pursuit of the American corps was forbidden.*

The loss sustained in this affair by the assailants amounted to one hundred and eight men of the regular army; certainly a misfortune, but small compared with what it would have been, had a retreat been attempted without fighting. Still to a certain order of military critics, who

* That a pursuit was forbidden is a fair inference from the fact, that none was made, and that Lafayette encamped for the night within six miles of the enemy without disturbance of any kind. But on this head we have the direct evidence of Tarleton, that, "*not till after daybreak*" of the 7th, was he detached, with two hundred dragoons and eighty mounted infantry, to cross the swamp and follow on the track of the American army, which he found quietly encamped about six miles from the field of battle. — *Tarleton's Campaigns*, p. 356. Cornwallis's omission to pursue Lafayette, on this and other occasions, has given rise to some diversity of opinion among the writers of American history. Lee attributes it to a sense of subordination, and a conformity to the wishes and opinions of Sir Henry Clinton; who, under an apprehension of an attack on New York, had directed Cornwallis to send him three thousand men for its better security. Marshall, on the other hand, ascribes the inactivity of Cornwallis, after Wayne's junction with Lafayette, to a belief, that his adversary's force was much greater than it actually was. A safer opinion perhaps than either is, that his Lordship's conduct was the joint effect of both these causes.

make all good generalship to consist in avoiding danger, it served for a moment as a ground of censure against Wayne. By them the "attack was deemed rash and the loss useless"; but such was not the opinion of either Washington or Greene. The first of these, in a letter of the 30th of July, 1781, says, "I received, with the greatest pleasure, the account of the action at Green Spring. The Marquis speaks in the handsomest manner of your own behavior and that of the troops under your command. Be pleased to make my compliments to Colonels Butler and Stewart and the other gentlemen of the line. I cannot but feel myself interested in the welfare of those, to whose gallant conduct I have so often been a witness." Greene's tribute of applause is equally full; "The Marquis gives you great glory for your conduct in the action at Jamestown; and I am sensible that you merit it. O that I had but had you with me a few days ago! Your glory and the public good might have been greatly advanced."

The day after the preceding affair, the British general continued his march to Portsmouth, and subsequently took post at York; where, on the 17th of October, he terminated his military career in America by a surrender of himself, his army, and his post.*

* For a brief account of the siege of Yorktown, see the *Note* at the end of the Memoir.

Wayne, though yet suffering under the effects of a wound in the thigh, received during the Virginia campaign, was on the 15th of December detached to the army of General Greene, and, on the 1st of January following, was sent by that officer "to reinstate, as far as might be possible, the authority of the Union within the limits of Georgia." To effect this important object the means given him were "one hundred regular dragoons, three hundred undisciplined Georgia militia, and about the same number of State cavalry." * The offer of a force, so obviously inadequate to the purpose, would by most men have been certainly regarded as a hardship, and probably as an insult; but from Wayne not a syllable of complaint or objection was heard. The command was accepted, not merely with professional submission, but with the utmost alacrity; when, substituting activity for discipline and skill, and boldness for numbers, he in the short space of five weeks drove the enemy from all his interior posts, cut off Indian detachments marching to his aid, intercepted the forays of his main body, and, on the land side, penned

* "I imagine we shall be able, by a draft of one half of the militia, to bring about three hundred effectives into the field, exclusive of Jacksons' cavalry and infantry, amounting to ninety men, and M'Coy's corps of volunteers to eighty." — *Governor Martin's Letter to Wayne, January, 1782.*

him up in a great degree within the narrow limits of the town of Savannah.

Writing to Greene on the 28th of February, he says; "The duty we have done in Georgia was more difficult than that imposed upon the children of Israel; they had only to make bricks without straw, but we have had provision, forage, and almost every other apparatus of war, to procure without money; boats, bridges, &c. to build without materials, except those taken from the stump; and, what was more difficult than all, to make *Whigs* out of *Tories*. But this we have effected, and have wrested the country out of the hands of the enemy, with the exception only of the town of Savannah. How to keep it, without some additional force, is a matter worthy of consideration."* The additional force, thus modestly requested, did not arrive till the 4th of April, and then consisted only of three hundred effective rank and file; which however, when added to two other corps (made up by the General out of Tory penitents), enabled him to keep the enemy, if not

* In a letter to a friend the General says; "In the five weeks we have been here, not an officer or soldier with me has once undressed, excepting for the purpose of changing his linen. The actual force of the enemy at this moment is more than three times that of mine. What we have been able to do has been done by manœuvring, rather than by force."

in a state of absolute confinement, at least in one of constant alarm.

To check a spirit of discontent produced by this state of things, and infecting alike the army and the inhabitants of the town,* General Clark, the British commanding officer, found it necessary to invoke the aid of his Indian allies; two parties of whom, the one composed of Choctaws, the other of Creeks, began their march early in May for the British camp. The former, having the shorter distance to travel, were the first to reach the environs of Savannah; where, by Wayne's vigilance and address, they were met and nearly all captured. Instead, however, of treating them as enemies, the General contented himself with retaining two or three of their principal chiefs as hostages; and dismissed the remainder, with a lecture on the folly of adhering to a power no longer able to protect them, and the wisdom of returning immediately to their homes, and never again taking an interest in a war, with which they had no necessary or natural connexion.

To prevent the occurrence of any similar accident to the Creeks, whose approach was now

* The circumstance, which gave most cause for this discontent, may be found in an intercepted letter containing the following paragraph; "We are cooped up within the town of Savannah by about 300 rebels, while we can muster 2,500 men fit for duty." — JOHNSON'S *Life of Greene*, Vol. II. p. 289.

expected, Clark, on the 20th of May, detached Colonel Brown, with a strong party of horse and foot, to meet them at Ogeechee, and thence to convoy them to the city. Apprized of Brown's movement on the day of its occurrence, and informed, that, in returning, that officer must necessarily pass a long and narrow causeway, skirted on both sides by swampy grounds; Wayne hastened to seize this defile, and, by uncommon labor and perseverance, was able to reach it with the head of his column, about twelve o'clock at night; when, somewhat to his surprise, he found the enemy advancing upon him. With only a moment to decide on the course to be pursued, his plan was promptly formed; and, believing that in night attacks success depends more on prowess than on numbers, he ordered his small party, consisting only of one company of infantry and a single section of dragoons, to charge the advancing column; an order which, according to his official statement, was obeyed with "a vivacity and vigor, which, in a moment and without burning a grain of powder, defeated and dispersed the whole of it." *

* Colonel Douglass and forty men were killed, wounded, or taken on this occasion; and a valuable acquisition was made in horses and fire-arms.

From some cause never well ascertained, Gue-ristasego,* the leader of the Creeks, had been prevented from reaching Ogeechee on the 20th, as was expected, and of course escaped all share in Brown's defeat. Apprized however of this event on the 22d, and by no means shaken in his purpose by it, the Indian chief, equally distinguished for courage and for cunning, determined to persevere, and even to retaliate as he went along the blow his ally had suffered on the 21st. Confining his march to the woods and swamps during the 22d and 23d, he on the 24th reached a position within striking distance of Wayne's picket-guard, whence, about midnight, creeping through grass, weeds, and bushes, he reached an out-lying sentinel, whom he instantly and silently killed; after which, approaching undiscovered a company of Posey's corps, stationed to protect the artillery, he fell furiously upon it with his whole force, and compelled it to fall hastily back upon a quarter-guard. But, the camp being now sufficiently alarmed, the dragoons mounted, and the infantry brought up, Wayne resorted to his favorite weapons the sabre and the bayonet; and charging the savages on front, flank, and rear, a general rout on their part

* This name is given to the Creek chief by Lee and Wayne; but Johnson calls him Emitasago.

ensued,—leaving on the field their dying chief and nineteen of his followers, who had fallen around him. In the pursuit which followed, twelve of the fugitives were overtaken, making the ascertained loss of the assailants thirty-two. Judging however from the character of the conflict, which for fifteen minutes was sustained hand to hand, and the Indian usage of carrying off the dead and wounded, their actual loss was probably much greater.*

The British government, having about this time resolved to abandon all further offensive operations in America, gave orders for evacuating Georgia. As soon as this determination had been announced to the merchants and other inhabitants of the place, they applied to General Wayne to know how far, in case of the departure of the British garrison, their persons and property would be respected. To this question the General replied,—“That the merchants and

* The historian of the southern war, after describing this affair, says,—“This surprise rather increased than diminished Wayne’s military reputation. Those, who knew the difficulty of guarding against such an event from such an enemy, were ready to excuse it; while the firmness, discipline, and valor of the troops, and his own promptness and coolness in recovering them from their surprise, commanded the admiration of all.”—JOHNSON’S *Life of Greene*, Vol. II. p. 299.

traders, not citizens of the United States, nor owing allegiance to the State of Georgia, shall be allowed six months to dispose of their effects and adjust their concerns; at the expiration of which term, they will have a flag granted, to convey themselves, and such property as they may have received in exchange or payment for their goods, to one of the nearest British posts, should they request it." With regard to such of the inhabitants as had served in the militia, and who were willing to enlist in the Georgia regiment of infantry for two years, or during the war, "they might be assured that every effort that he could exert would be employed in obtaining for them an act of oblivion of all offences committed by them during the war, excepting murder."

In Wayne's official report of the reasons, which led him to adopt the preceding course, we find an evidence of the moderation and generosity, which in a successful commander are always wisdom. "In offering these terms," he says, "I had in view not only the interest of the United States, but also that of Georgia; by retaining as many inhabitants and merchants as circumstances would admit, and, with them, a considerable quantity of goods, much wanted for public and private use; but (what was yet of greater consequence) to complete your quota of troops without any expense to the public, and thus reclaim a number

of men, who, at another day, will become valuable members of society. This also appears to me an act of justice, tempered with mercy ; justice, to oblige those, who have joined or remained with the enemy, to expiate their crime by military service ; and mercy, to admit the repentant sinner to citizenship, after a reasonable quarantine. By these means those worthy citizens [the Whigs], who have so long endured every vicissitude of fortune with more than Roman virtue, will be relieved from that duty."

On the 12th of July, the British troops evacuated Savannah ; after which, Wayne with the few regular troops under his command was recalled to South Carolina by General Greene ; who, in the letter conveying this order, (in addition to many occasional plaudits given to Wayne's conduct during the campaign,) now bestows upon it the following general encomium ;— "I am happy at the approaching deliverance of that unfortunate country ; and what adds to my happiness is, that it will reflect no small honor upon you. I wish you to be persuaded, that I shall do you ample justice in my public accounts to Congress and the Commander-in-chief. I think you have conducted your command with *great prudence* and with *astonishing perseverance* ; and, in so doing, you have *fully answered the high expecta-*

tions I ever entertained of your military abilities, from our earliest acquaintance."

The evacuation of Savannah was soon followed by that of Charleston ; and this, by a treaty of peace, which after a seven years' absence restored Wayne to his own fireside in Pennsylvania. Soon after his return thither, he was elected a member of the Council of Censors, and, subsequently, to a seat in the Convention, "called to revise and amend the Constitution of the State." In the discharge of the duties appertaining to these appointments, Wayne gave a willing and laborious attention, but, from reasons altogether personal and private, declined any farther service in a civil capacity.

It may be readily supposed, that the General's long abstraction from his paternal estate had no tendency to make it better, and even rendered necessary much personal attention and considerable pecuniary advances to recover it from the disorder into which it had fallen. But a farther and still greater demand for both was produced by a landed donation made to him by the State of Georgia ; which (though nothing could have been better intended) became a gift hardly less unfortunate than that of Dejanira to Hercules. To sell the offering of a State, made in expression of its gratitude for important services, seemed to be forbidden by delicacy ; yet between this and

borrowing a large sum of money indispensable to its improvement he was compelled to choose ; and unfortunately decided in favor of the latter. A loan not being negotiable here, resort was had to Holland, where it was effected, and bills for the amount sold in Philadelphia ; all of which, from causes of which we know nothing, were returned protested ; a circumstance which long and greatly embarrassed the General, and terminated at last in the sacrifice of his Georgia grant. But the time had now arrived, when private and personal griefs must yield to public considerations, and when, by the voice of the nation and the selection of Washington, Wayne was again called to the command of an army.

It will be remembered, that the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States did not extend to the Indian allies of the former ; several tribes of whom continued their hostilities and to such extent, that, between the years 1783 and 1790, no less than fifteen hundred and twenty men, women, and children, of Kentucky alone, had been killed or captured by them. All ordinary means of terminating a state of things so injurious and disgraceful, without a recurrence to arms, were frequently and faithfully tried, but without furnishing even a hope of success. The patience and moderation of Washington were at last exhausted ; and in September, 1791, General

Harmar, with three hundred regulars and twelve hundred militia, was ordered to enter the Indian settlements and endeavor by chastisement, if pacific means failed, to bring the Wabash and Miami tribes to reasonable terms. This first experiment proving altogether unsuccessful, a second and more formidable armament was despatched under Major-General St. Clair; who, on the 4th of November, 1791, was fated to suffer a total and disastrous defeat.*

This new misfortune producing much public and painful sensation, and rendering necessary measures of the most efficient character, as well to sustain the credit of the government, as to bring to an end the sufferings of the frontier population, the military establishment was increased to five thousand two hundred men, a legionary organization substituted for the regimental, and a competent staff provided. But, however ample the force and judicious the formation and equipment of an army, little is to be expected from its efforts, unless they be directed by a chief, uniting in himself valor, prudence, perseverance, professional skill, and a competent knowledge of the

* Of commissioned officers, 38 were killed and 28 wounded, many of whom died; of non-commissioned officers and privates, 600 were killed, and 242 wounded; — 7 pieces of artillery, 200 draft-oxen, and many horses were taken.

habits and practices in war, of the enemy he has to contend with. Fortunately for Washington, of his comrades of the Revolution Wayne still survived; and was promptly appointed to the command of the legion and army of the West.

It was not, however, till the 16th of October, 1793, that, with all the activity the General put into the service, the troops were raised, assembled, equipped, and otherwise prepared to take the field; an interval, which Washington, more perhaps in modest submission to public opinion, than to the dictates of his own judgment, employed in new attempts at pacification by treaty. The hostile manner, in which these were received, made war indispensable. Colonel Hardin and Major Trueman, two gentlemen of the West, of much and well-merited respectability, who had been prevailed upon to become the bearers of one of them, were barbarously murdered by the savages, to whom they were sent; nor was the issue of the other, though less unfortunate to the persons charged with its delivery, more successful as regarded its objects; as, after a long-protracted negotiation, having the effect only of postponing the expedition till the enemy felt himself better prepared to meet it, the terms offered by the government were decidedly rejected.

In a letter from General Knox, of the 3d of September, 1793, he says, — “ The Indians have refused to treat, and you are now to judge, whether your force will be adequate to make them feel our superiority in arms. Every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword ; these efforts have failed, under circumstances, which leave nothing for us to expect but war. Let it therefore be again, and for the last time, impressed upon your mind, that as little as possible is to be hazarded ; that your force be fully adequate to the object you purpose to effect ; and that a defeat at the present time, and under present circumstances, would be pernicious, in the highest degree, to the interests of our country. Nothing further remains, but to commit you, and the troops employed under you, to the protection of the Supreme Being ; hoping you and they will have all possible success, in the measures you may be about to take, to prevent the murder of helpless women and children.”

Under these orders, Wayne began his march from a camp, near the site of the present town of Cincinnati, at which he had wintered ; but, from the necessity of multiplying forts to secure his communications, the advanced state of the year, and the admonitions of the government to hazard as little as possible, it was not till the 8th of August, 1794, that he was able to reach the

Indian settlement, the destruction of which formed the first object of the enterprise. Arrived at last at the junction of the Au Glaize and the Miami, and reinforced by eleven hundred mounted volunteers from Kentucky, he there erected a fortification, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance. Writing from this point to the secretary of war, he says, — "Though now prepared to strike, I have thought it proper to make to the enemy a last overture of peace; nor am I without hopes, that they will listen to it."

But in this humane expectation the General was disappointed. Elated by the success, which had hitherto attended their arms, and the impressions made by it on other tribes; stimulated also by promises of aid given by the British agents, and still more by the actual intrusion of a British garrison far within the limits of the United States, and evidently established with a view of supplying Indian wants and sustaining Indian pretensions; the savages, though not directly rejecting the overture, so palpably evaded it, as to deprive the General of all farther hope from it. He accordingly on the 15th advanced to Roche-Debout; where, having erected and fortified a depot, he disencumbered himself of his stores and baggage, and on the 19th marched on the position taken by the enemy. This, which had been closely and carefully reconnoitred on the

18th, was found to be in all respects well adapted for defence, its right flank covered by thickets nearly impervious, its entire front by a strong *abatis*, the effect of a tornado, while its left rested on the river Miami. Behind these natural and accidental barriers lay the enemy, amounting to two thousand combatants, in three lines of open order, with flanks widely extended; as well to prevent their own position from being turned, as to favor any manœuvre of a similar kind practised by themselves against their assailant.

After a march of five miles, Wayne's advanced guard was briskly attacked from a thicket, made up of tall grass and underwood. On this evidence, that he had now reached the enemy's position, the General immediately directed the legion to take its customary order of battle; despatched Scott, with the whole of the mounted men, to turn his left flank and fall on his rear; and "ordered the front line of the legionary infantry to rouse the savages from their lair with the point of the bayonet, and, when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs." These orders were promptly obeyed; but so irresistible was the bayonet-charge, that both Indians and Canadians were driven from their position and completely routed, before either Scott's corps or the second legionary line

could get up to take part in the action. The American loss sustained in the combat did not exceed one hundred and seven men; while that of the enemy was much greater, as the field of battle was strewed with dead bodies, red and white; which, from the precipitancy of their flight, had not been removed. "We remained," says the General in his official report, "three days and nights on the banks of the Miami in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and corn were consumed, or otherwise destroyed, for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miami; and we were within pistol-shot of the garrison of that place, who were compelled to remain quiet spectators of this general devastation and conflagration."

On the 24th the army began its march for Greenville, and in their way thither laid waste villages and corn-crops for a distance of fifty miles, on each side of the river; and, at a later period, destroyed those also on the Au Glaize. This service was not to Wayne a pleasing occupation; but, being necessary to bring the Indians completely to their senses, and being besides prescribed to him by the government as a duty, it could neither be pretermitted nor evaded. Nor was the calculation, made on the effect it would produce on the enemy, overrated. Convinced at last of the evils of war, when brought

to their own cabins and corn-fields, the enemy solicited peace. This was promptly granted, and, on the 1st of January ensuing, articles preliminary thereto were signed ; which, on the 7th of August, were confirmed by a definitive treaty.

Plaudits and thanks, public and private, now accumulated upon Wayne. The Congress, then in session, unanimously adopted resolutions highly complimentary to the General and the whole army. The President of the United States conveyed to him expressions of the warmest approbation and the highest respect. His entry into Philadelphia was triumphal. All business in the city was suspended ; he was met on his approach by its militia in mass, and conducted through the streets amidst the stirring sounds of martial music, the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, and the acclamations of a grateful people. Such was the spontaneous burst of public admiration ; and such the high evidence of the universal sense entertained of the important services he had rendered. Nor (if estimated by the number and character of the benefits they conferred on the nation) will it be thought that these were overrated. Besides putting an end to a war, brutal as bloody, and waged without the smallest respect for age or sex throughout our western frontier, they had the farther effect of quieting

Indian excitement in both the north and the south; of opening to a civilized population the fine region, which had been the theatre of the late hostilities; and of eventually adding to this a large territory equally inviting to settlement and culture. A farther and most useful effect was to allay the feverish and factious feeling existing at home; which, availing itself of the unfortunate issue of Harmar's and St. Clair's campaigns, had gone far to shake the confidence of the people in the executive branch of the government; while, abroad, it hastened the execution of the pending negotiation with Great Britain; by which, the American posts, so long and pertinaciously held by that power, were at last given up.

Appointed by the government sole commissioner for treating with the North-western Indians, and receiver of the military posts given up by the British government, General Wayne again returned to the West; and, after a prompt and faithful discharge of the duties attached to these new functions, while descending Lake Erie from Detroit, was attacked by the gout, which in a few days put an end to his life and his labors. His remains, temporarily buried on the shore of the Lake, were removed by his son in 1809 to the cemetery of St. David's church, in Chester County, Pennsylvania; where a monument, rais-

ed to his memory by his comrades of the Revolution, exhibits the following inscriptions.

North front.

Major-General
ANTHONY WAYNE
Was born at Waynesborough,
In Chester County,
State of Pennsylvania,
A. D. 1745.
After a Life of Honor and Usefulness,
He died in December, 1796,
At a military Post
On the Shore of Lake Erie,
Commander-in-chief of the Army of
The United States.
His military Achievements
Are consecrated
In the History of his Country,
And in
The Hearts of his Countrymen.
His Remains
Are here deposited.

South front.

In Honor of the distinguished
Military Services of
MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE,
And as an affectionate Tribute
Of Respect to his Memory,
This Stone was erected by his Companions
In Arms,

The Pennsylvania State Society of
The Cincinnati,
July 4th, A. D. 1809,
Thirty-fourth Anniversary of
The Independence of the United States,
An Event which constitutes the most
Appropriate Eulogium
Of an American Soldier and
Patriot.

VI.—6

NOTE.

(See Page 61.)

On Wayne's agency in the affair at Yorktown, we cannot do better than to offer (what may be new to many of our readers) a detailed, but brief account of the investment and siege.

28th September, 1781 Combined French and American armies under the command of his Excellency General Washington, moving in two columns (the American on the right, and the French on the left), arrived in view of the enemy's lines, about four o'clock, P. M.

29th. Completed the investment. The enemy abandoned their exterior works in the evening; leaving two redoubts perfect, within cannon-shot of their principal fortifications.

30th. The allied troops took possession of the ground abandoned by the British; the French occupying the two redoubts, and the Americans breaking ground and beginning two new ones on the right.

October 2d. The enemy commenced a cannonade which continued through the day and night, but with very little effect, two men only being killed by their fire.

3d. A drop-shot from the British, last night, killed four men belonging to the covering party.

4th. American redoubts perfected; enemy's fire languid.

5th. Two men killed by a ricochet shot.

6th. Six regiments, that is, one from the right of each brigade, marched at six, P. M., under Generals Wayne and Clinton, and opened the first parallel, within five hundred and fifty yards of the enemy's works on their extreme left; continued by the French to the extreme right.

7th. Parallel nearly completed without any opposition from the enemy, except a feeble fire of musketry and artillery, by which a few of the French troops were wounded.

8th. First parallel completed. Two men of the Pennsylvania line killed by a ricochet shot.

9th. Three o'clock, P. M., the French opened a twelve-gun battery on the extreme right of the enemy; and at five, P. M., a battery of ten pieces was opened on the extreme left, by the Americans, with apparent effect.

10th. At daybreak, three other batteries were opened; one of five pieces by the Americans, and two by the French, containing twenty-two guns opposite the centre of the British works. At five, P. M., another American battery, of two ten-inch howitzers, was also opened; which produced so severe a fire, that it in a great degree silenced that of the enemy. At seven o'clock, P. M., the Charon, of forty-four guns, was set on fire by our balls and totally consumed.

11th. The second parallel begun to-night by the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, covered by two battalions commanded by General Wayne

13th. Second parallel nearly completed.

14th. Two detached redoubts, belonging to the enemy, stormed a little after dark; that on the extreme left by the American Light Infantry under the Marquis de Lafayette; in which were taken, one major, one captain, and one subaltern, with seventeen privates, and eight rank and file killed. Our loss in killed and wounded, forty-one. The other redoubt was carried by the French under the Baron Viomenil, with the loss of one hundred men, killed and wounded. Of the enemy eighteen were killed, three officers and thirty nine privates captured. The two attacks above mentioned were sustained by two battalions of the Pennsylvania line under General Wayne. The second parallel completed by detachments of the Pennsylvania and Maryland line under Colonel Walter Stewart.

15th. Two small batteries opened this evening.

16th. A sortie made by the enemy, in which they spiked seven pieces of our artillery, but were immediately repulsed. The spikes drawn, and the batteries again opened.

17th. At ten, A. M., the enemy beat the *chamade* introductory to the negotiation, which terminated in the surrender.

LIFE
OF
HENRY HUDSON
BY
HENRY R. CLEVELAND

HENRY HUDSON.

CHAPTER I.

Hudson's early History little known. — First Voyage, in 1607. — Sails from Gravesend. — Makes Discoveries on the Coast of Greenland. — Sails thence to Spitzbergen. — Proceeds northward, to the Eighty-second Degree of Latitude. — Attempts to find a Passage around the North of Greenland. — Driven back by the Ice. — Returns to the southern Parts of Spitzbergen, and thence to England.

IN few men are more rare combinations of talents required, than in discoverers and explorers of new countries and seas. Invincible courage, patience and fortitude under suffering, daring enterprise tempered by prudence, promptness and decision united with calm reflection, sagacity and fertility of invention, strong common sense combined with enthusiasm and vivid imagination, the power of commanding other minds joined to gen-

tleness of manner and ready sympathy, are some of the more prominent traits in the character of this class of men.

Among those, who were peculiarly gifted in these attributes, was the subject of the present memoir, HENRY HUDSON, the bold navigator of the Arctic Seas, the discoverer of the vast inland sea, and of the river in North America, which bear his name.

Of the early history of Hudson hardly any thing is known. He was a native of England, a scientific and professed navigator, and ranked with the most distinguished seamen of his age. He was a contemporary and friend of the famous Captain John Smith, and rivalled him in intrepidity and perseverance. He resided in London, was married, and had one son.* We are not informed in what way he acquired his practical skill in navigation; but, as he lived in an age immediately succeeding the most dazzling discoveries, and while these discoveries were occupying, with absorbing interest, the mind of the whole civilized world, it is not improbable, that his nautical education may have been received from some one of the great navigators, who followed immediately in the footsteps of Columbus

* Yates and Moulton's *History of the State of New York*, Vol. I. p. 198.

and explored the new world, which his genius had revealed.

We are first introduced to him by his own journal of a voyage, undertaken at the charge of "certaine worshipfull Merchants of London," in the year 1607. The object of the voyage was to explore the coast of Greenland, and pass round it to the northwest, or directly under the Pole; or, in his own words, "for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China."*

The crew consisted in all of twelve persons, including Henry Hudson, the master, and his son John, a boy; all of whom, we are informed, went to the church of Saint Ethelburge, in Bishopsgate Street, a few days before sailing, to partake solemnly of the holy sacrament; a pious practice, which seems to have been very general in those days, and which was highly appropriate for men who were about to encounter the hardships, terrors, and uncertainties of a voyage of discovery in unknown regions.

They sailed from Gravesend, on the 1st of May, 1607, and, taking a northerly course, made the Shetland Islands in twenty-six days. The needle was here found to have no variation; but, four days afterwards, Hudson "found the needle to

* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 567.

incline seventy-nine degrees under the horizon"; and, on the 4th of June, he observed a variation of five degrees westwardly. His course, after losing sight of the Shetland Isles, was north-westerly; the object being to reach the coast of Greenland.

On the 11th of June, he saw six or seven whales near the ship, the promise of a harvest, which was destined subsequently to prove of such immense profit to his country and to Holland. Two days afterwards, early in the morning, land was discovered ahead, with ice; and, there being a thick fog, he stood away south by east, six or eight leagues. The weather was so cold, that the sails and ropes were coated with ice; the wind blowing a gale from the northeast. About eight o'clock in the morning, it cleared up, and Hudson was able to see the land distinctly, stretching away northeast by north, and northeast, to the distance of about nine leagues. In his journal, he says, "This was very high land, most part covered with snow. The nether part was uncovered. At the top, it looked reddish, and underneath a blackish clay, with much ice lying about it."* There was a quantity of fowl on this coast, and a whale was seen close by the shore. Hudson named the headland, thus

* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 567

discovered, *Young's Cape*, probably from its being first seen by James Young, one of his crew. Near this cape was a "very high mount, like a round castle," which he named the *Mount of God's Mercy*. This was on the coast of Greenland.

He continued northeasterly along the coast, encountering a succession of fogs, gales of wind, rains, and snows, occasionally driven from his course by head winds, and at one time lying to for the space of forty-eight hours. His purpose was, to ascertain whether the land he had seen was an island, or part of Greenland; but, being discouraged by the continued fogs, which hid the land from his view, he determined to steer for *Newland*, or Spitzbergen, and the course was altered to the northeast. At length the weather cleared up, and they enjoyed the comfort of a bright sun, after eighteen days of continued fogs and clouds.

After sailing on this course about fifteen or sixteen leagues, he saw land on the larboard, or left hand, about four leagues distant, stretching northeast and southwest. There was a vast number of birds circling around the land, with black backs and white bodies; and many floating pieces of ice, which they were obliged carefully to avoid. The fog returned again, and Hudson feared that he was embayed, from the quan

tities of ice about the ship. He therefore steered northeast for five or six leagues, keeping a diligent lookout for the eastward termination of the land, and afterwards stood to the south.

He soon changed his course to the northeast again; and, the weather clearing up, he saw land at the distance of about twelve leagues, in the latitude of seventy-three degrees. This land appeared lofty and covered with snow, and in the north part were seen some very high mountains. The weather in this latitude was much less severe than that which they experienced in the neighborhood of Young's Cape. This land he did not explore any further, being prevented by fogs, calms, and contrary winds; he named it the *Land of Hold with Hope*.

In his journal, Hudson apologizes for steering so far westwardly, instead of making due north for the Pole. He says, that he was prompted by a desire to see that part of Greenland, which he supposed was hitherto undiscovered. Moreover, being in the vicinity of this land, it was natural to expect westerly winds, which would greatly favor his approach to the Pole. "And," he adds, "considering we found lands contrary to that which our cards make mention of, we accounted our labor so much the more worth. And, for aught that we could see, it is like to be a good land and worth the seeing."*

* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 568.

On the 24th, the master's mate again saw high land on the larboard, which fell away to the northwest the more they advanced; and this was the last point of Greenland which presented itself to them. Hudson now turned to the northward and eastward, encountering constant fogs; but, being in so high latitude, that the sun was above the horizon the whole twenty-four hours, he was the less incommoded by the thick weather.

By the 26th of June, he saw flocks of birds similar to those he had seen on the coast of Greenland; he concluded that land was not far off, though, from the dense fog, he could see nothing of it. But the next morning, about one or two o'clock, the fog cleared up from the sea, and he saw the coast of Spitzbergen, or *New-land*, a name, which he says the Dutch had given to it. The land was covered with fog, and the ice was lying very thick all along the shore, for fifteen or sixteen leagues. At noon, he found himself to be in the latitude of seventy-eight degrees, and he supposed the land in sight to be Vogelhoeck, a projecting point in the western coast of Spitzbergen.*

* Forster remarks, that "the honor of the discovery of Spitzbergen belongs to Hudson."—*History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the North*, p. 326. It is also asserted in Yates and Moulton's *History of the*

He continued to ply to the north and north-east, in the hope of finding a passage to the north of the island, until the middle of July. And it was in this part of the voyage, that his patience and fortitude seem to have been most severely tried. Constantly hemmed in with ice, and in danger of having his ship crushed by the masses, encountering head winds and storms, and

State of New York, (Vol. I. p. 199,) that to Hudson is awarded the honor of discovering Spitzbergen. The same statement had been previously made by Dr. Belknap, (*Amer. Biog.*, Vol. I. p. 395,) and by Dr. Miller, (*Collect. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 28.) It appears very clearly, however, that Hudson was not the first discoverer of Spitzbergen; as the journal written by himself proves to us, that he knew of its existence and position previously to seeing it, and he recognised the portion of it, which he first saw, as the cape or headland called *Vogelhoeck* by the Dutch. The island was certainly seen, and probably first discovered, by William Barentz, of Amsterdam. This appears from a Latin work, entitled, *Descriptio ac Delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti sive Transitus ad Occasum supra Terras Americanas in Chinam atque Japonem ducturi*, published at Amsterdam, in 1613, twelve years before Hudson's Journal was published in Purchas's *Pilgrims*. The author of this work says, that Barentz and Cornelius, in the year 1596, being on a voyage of discovery, in the hope of finding a northern passage to China, saw land in latitude 79° 50', and that they named this land *Spitzbergen*, from its mountainous aspect, and the quantity of snow and ice that was seen. They also named a

obliged to change his course almost daily, with disappointment meeting him at every step, he still continued to buffet the storms, availing himself of every moment of favorable weather to work to the northward, till fairly convinced of the impossibility, on account of the ice, of finding a passage by this side of the island. The sea appeared, at different times, blue, green, or

remarkable promontory of this island *Vogelhoeck*, from the number of birds they found there. The island was, therefore, certainly discovered before Hudson saw it.

Scoresby, in his *Account of the Arctic Regions*, (Vol. I. p. 20,) speaks of the *re-discovery* of Spitzbergen by Hudson. This expression seems incorrect, as Hudson himself mentions the name by which it was called by the Hollanders; from which it is evident, that the existence of the island was generally known before his voyage in 1607.

When Hudson first approaches the land, he speaks of it as the same that was "called *Newland* by the Hollanders," (Purchas, Vol. III. p. 571.) That the country was at first called by the two names of *Spitzbergen* and *Newland* is proved by the fact, that there is now in existence a small quarto volume, entitled, *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberg, ou l'Isle de Terre Neuve*, published at Amsterdam, in 1613. The error of ascribing the first discovery to Hudson probably originated in a marginal note of Purchas, in which he says, "*Newland*, or *Greenland*, of which the Hollanders made a little discovery by Barentz." Hence it was inferred, that the *Newland* mentioned by Hudson was *Greenland*; which is refuted by his Journal.

black; and they saw a large number of morses, seals, and bears; which last animal afforded food to the crew, who ate so freely of the flesh one day, that many of them were made sick by it.

On the 14th of July, they saw a bay open towards the west, the shores of which were very high and rugged. The northerly point they named *Collins's Cape*, in honor of the boatswain, who first discovered it. A great number of whales were swimming about in the bay, one of which came under the keel, and "made her held," but did them no harm. Though there was a quantity of snow lying in the swamps and valleys near the shore, the weather was not. Several of the crew went on shore, where they found and brought on board a pair of morse's teeth in the jaw; they also found some dozen or more deer's horns, and saw the foot-steps of other animals. Two or three streams of fresh water pouring into the bay proved very grateful to the men, who were made thirsty by the heat of the weather. In the evening, a fine gale springing up, they steered northeast again.

The weather was warm and clear on the morning of the 16th, and Hudson perceived that he was almost encompassed with ice. The land extended northeast far into the eighty-first degree of latitude; but, on account of the ice,

there was no passage to the north of it. Hudson therefore determined to sail round the southern extremity of the island, and then seek a passage to the northeast. He accordingly put the ship about, and laid his course southwardly, having been as far north as the eighty-second degree; a higher latitude than had yet been attained by any navigator.

He continued southwardly along the coast of Spitzbergen, having occasional glimpses of land, till the 25th of July, when he saw the land bearing north. He was now convinced, from the general prevalence of the winds since he had been on the coast, that it would be impossible to work his way to the northeast; he therefore abandoned the plan he had formed, of sailing round the southern extremity of the island, and determined to "prove his fortunes" by the west once more, hoping to go round the north of Greenland, and then return, by Davis's Straits, to England. His course was now, accordingly, shaped westward.

On the 27th, being nearly becalmed, they heard a great noise, occasioned by the ice and sea, and found that the sea was heaving them westward towards a large body of ice. The boat was got out, in the hope of towing the ship away from it, but the sea ran so high, that their efforts would have been of little avail. "In this extremity," says Hudson, "it pleased God

to give us a small gale at northwest and by west We steered away four leagues, till noon. Here we had finished our discovery, if the wind had continued that brought us hither, or if it had continued calm; but it pleased God to make this northwest and by west wind the means of our deliverance; which wind we had not found common in this voyage. God give us thankful hearts for so great deliverance."

At noon the weather cleared up, and Hudson was convinced by the sky, which reflected the ice, that he could find no passage to the north of Greenland. He therefore took advantage of a westerly wind, and steered to the southeast. He again saw the southern extremity of Spitzbergen, and continued his course to the south. For, finding the fogs more thick and troublesome than before, and that many of the stores were beginning to fail; the season, moreover, being so far advanced, that it would be impossible to make the projected voyage this year, even if it were practicable at the proper season; he determined to return to England.

He passed in sight of Cheries Island, and, the weather being clear, he had a distinct view of the land, covered with craggy rocks. Continuing a southerly course through the month of August, he arrived at Tilbury Hope, on the Thames, September 15th, having been absent four months and a half.

CHAPTER II.

Hudson's Second Voyage. — Sails from London with the Design of seeking a Northeastern Passage to India. — Passes the North Cape. — Obstructed by Ice. — Arrives at Nova Zembla. — Abandons the Hope of going further North. — Explores an Inlet, or River, in Nova Zembla. — Resolves to return. — Searches for Willoughby's Land. — Arrives in England.

As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, Hudson prepared for a second voyage of discovery, the object of which was to find a northeast passage to the East Indies, by going to the north of Nova Zembla. The crew amounted to fifteen persons, including Hudson and his young son, who accompanied him on all his voyages. The master's mate was a certain Robert Juet,* a man of considerable nautical skill and some education, who accompanied Hudson on all his subsequent voyages, and was destined to act a conspicuous part in his adventures.

* So, with Belknap, we prefer to modernize the spelling in Purchas, which is always *Juet* (like *June*, *July*, *judge*), except once *Juet* (p. 576), and once *IVET* (p. 581, where it is printed in capitals, like *HVDSON*.) Yet in Harris's *Collection of Voyages*, where Purchas is copied and the spelling reformed, it is constantly printed *Juet*.

He sailed from London on the 22d of April 1608, and after a month's sailing northward, till the 24th of May, he judged himself to be distant only sixteen leagues from the coast of Norway, in latitude of sixty-seven degrees. He had encountered constant fogs till this time, though generally with favorable winds; but the weather now cleared up, and continued fair, yet so cold, that it caused the sickness of the carpenter and several of the crew. He plied constantly to the northward and northeast, as the wind permitted, and, in three days more, was in latitude so high north, that he took an observation at midnight, the sun being on the north meridian, five degrees and a half above the horizon.

On the 1st of June, there came a severe gale, with snow. This continued for two days, when the weather became fair again, and he saw the North Cape about eight leagues distant. There were also several Norway fishermen in sight. Continuing a northeasterly course, he came into the neighborhood of ice, the first he had seen upon the voyage. His wish was to make his way through it, and he consequently held his course, loosening some of it, and bearing away from the larger portions, till late in the afternoon, when he found the ice so thick and firm, that it was impossible to force a further passage through it, and he was obliged to

return, having suffered no other harm than slightly rubbing the sides of his ship.

From this time, he made but a small advance to the north, the highest latitude which he reached being a little more than seventy-five degrees. He was on soundings nearly every day, finding much green ooze, and the water being whitish green. He saw great numbers of whales and porpoises, and he says the sea was covered with fowl. He also heard the bears roaring upon the ice, and saw an immense number of seals. The quantities of ice, by which he was beset, and the head winds, constantly obstructed his progress northward, so that, instead of gaining, he found himself drifting to the south.

He was here compelled to abandon the hope of going to the north of Nova Zembla, being very near its western coast, and unable, from the ice, to work to northward. Turning southward, he saw the part of Nova Zembla called Swart-Cliff by the Dutch. On one occasion, the ship only two miles from the land, he sent six of the men on shore, to examine the appearance of the country, and to fill the water casks. They found the shore covered with long grass, and the ground boggy and overflowed in places with streams from melting snow; the weather being very hot. They also saw traces of deer, foxes, and bears, and picked up some fins of

whales. In returning to the ship, they saw two or three troops or herds of morses swimming near the boat. Soon after this, several of the crew landed, in the hope of killing some of the morses; and they found a cross standing near the shore, with the signs of fires that had been kindled there.

After remaining in this place a short time, they saw a great number of morses in the water, and hoisted sail, and got out the boat to tow the vessel along; in the hope, that by following the morses, they might discover their place of landing, where they might kill them. They continued the chase till they doubled a point, and came to anchor in the mouth of a broad river, or sound, near a small island. They found the position so dangerous, however, from the ice which was borne down the stream, that they were obliged to weigh anchor in the night, and stand out, a fine gale springing up just in season to free them from their danger; but they returned to the same anchorage as soon as the ice had been carried out to sea by the current.

Constantly on the watch for any thing that might aid his discovery of the northeast passage Hudson had no sooner perceived the broad river, near the mouth of which he had anchored, than he formed hopes that he might here find

a way to the other side of Nova Zembla. When he had ascertained the impossibility of sailing north of this island, it had been his intention to try the passage of the Vaygats,* a strait which he knew would conduct him to the eastern side, unless obstructed with ice. "But," he says, "being here, and hoping by the plenty of morses we saw here to defray the charge of our voyage, and also that this sound might for some reasons be a better passage to the east of Nova Zembla than the Vaygats, if it held according to a hope conceived by the likeness it gave," he resolved to remain till he could explore it.

Soon after coming to anchor, he observed a large number of morses asleep on a projecting rock of the little island near him, and he therefore despatched the whole crew to hunt them. They only succeeded in killing one; all the rest having plunged into the water at their approach. The men landed, and found the shores high and steep; but, on ascending them, the land appeared quite level. After killing a great quantity of fowl, they returned on board. Several men were now sent, under the command of the mate, to examine the mouth of the

* The *Vaygats*, *Waygats*, or *Vaigatz*, is a strait between the southernmost parts of Nova Zembla and the northern coast of Russia.

river, or sound, by which he hoped to find a passage. After an absence of about twenty-four hours, they returned, bringing a very large deer's horn, and a lock of white hair; also a large number of fowl, which they had shot. They had seen a herd of white deer, and they reported that the shore was covered with drift-wood, that there were convenient bays, and a river coming from the north, which appeared to be a favorite resort of the morses. As for the sound, which they had been sent to examine, they had found it to be two or three leagues in breadth, the water of the color of the sea and very salt, and a strong current setting out; and they had no soundings at twenty fathoms.

This report determined him to explore the sound, and he accordingly weighed anchor, and stood in for the mouth of the river. He crossed a reef where the water was shallow; but after that it deepened again; and, having entered the river, he found it to be more than twenty fathoms deep. After ascending the stream to the distance of nine or ten leagues, he anchored again, the wind being ahead, and the current too strong to allow any farther advance that day. He, however, sent his mate Juet and five of the men in the boat, with provision and weapons, directing them to explore the stream, provided it continued deep, till they found it bending to

the east or southward, promising to follow them with the ship as soon as the wind should prove favorable. The men returned the next day, much fatigued with the labor they had undergone. They had explored the river to the distance of six or seven leagues, when the water became very shallow, not more than four feet deep. Finding that it would be impossible for their ship to pass these shallows, they had not thought it worth while to explore the river beyond this point.

There was no choice, therefore, but to return ; and accordingly he set sail and stood to the southwest again, as he tells us in his Journal "with sorrow that our labor was in vain ; for, had this sound held as it did make show of, for depth, breadth, safeness of harbor, and good anchorage ground, it might have yielded an excellent passage to a more easterly sea."

The month of July was somewhat advanced, and Hudson had failed in two attempts to discover a northeast passage. The ship was not now provided with stores or conveniences sufficient for attempting the passage of the Vaygats, and there was nothing left but to return to England. He determined, however, to visit Willoughby's Land* on the way, as he wished to

* It has been asserted by English writers, and frequently repeated, that Sir Hugh Willoughby had

ascertain whether it was laid down correctly or not on the chart; and he supposed that he should find a large number of morses there, as they were driven from the coast of Nova Zembla by the ice. His course was, therefore, laid westerly, being in the latitude of seventy-one degrees. He

discovered Spitzbergen. It appears, however, from Hudson's Journal of his second voyage, that he was not of this opinion, but considered Willoughby's Land as entirely distinct from Spitzbergen. He steered west for this land, being in latitude 71°, while he well knew, that the most southerly point of Spitzbergen was several degrees to the north of this. In the old Dutch maps, *Willoughby's Land* is placed to the southeast of Spitzbergen.

The author of the Latin work cited in a former note who is very accurate in his statements, maintains stoutly, that Willoughby's Land was not Spitzbergen, and cites a passage from the manuscript Journal of Willoughby to prove it. This passage agrees exactly with the Journal afterwards published in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, except in some slight variations of orthography. It is as follows; "The 14th day, earely in the morning, we discovered land, which land we bare withal, hoising out our boat to discover what land it might be, but the boat could not come to land, the water was so shoare, where was very much yse also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees; then we plyed to the northward the 15th, 16th, and 17th day." There is no mention in Willoughby's Journal, published in Purchas's *Pilgrims* of his having reached a higher

did not, however, come within sight of this land. After having sailed nearly west for about ten days, he perceived the promontory of Wardhus, on the coast of Lapland, and soon after doubled the North Cape. By the end of July, being off the coast of Norway, the nights had become dark,

northern latitude than 72° ; and it is very evident, that Hudson expected to find Willoughby's Land considerably to the south of Spitzbergen.

It may be satisfactory to some of our readers to examine for themselves the Latin passage referred to in this note. We therefore cite it entire.

“Qui Anglicanæ Navigationis cognitionem habent, non ignorant quam iniquis rationibus nitantur, et defendere conentur Angli, Equitem Hugonem Willoughby (Capitaneum trium Navium, vocatarum Bona Esperenza, Eduardus Bona Adventurus, et Bona Confidentia) invenisse et detegisse magnam illam insulam Spitsbergensem, idque septimo anno Regni Eduardi Sexti, anno nimirum Domini 1553. Nam eorum rerum maritimarum ipsæ lucubrationes atque scripta contrarium manifestò testantur, nimirum prædictum Equitem cum tribus istis navibus ex portu Anglicano Ratcliff solvisse (ut Septentrionem versus Regnum Cathaya detegeret) 10 May, 1553, et ab insula Norvegiæ Seynã 30 Julii eumque duabus navibus, matutino tempore 14 Augusti, terram quandam detegisse sitam à dicta Insula Seynam (Mesocæcias) 160 Anglicanis Leucis (milliaribus Germanicis 120) ad altitudinem 72° graduum. Quod quidem præfatus Eques propriâ manu Anglicè conscripsit his verbis.” The writer then quotes the passage in English from Willoughby's journal, as contained above

so that a light was required in the binacle, not having been used for two months before.

Hudson would have been glad to pursue his course to Greenland from this point, to attempt the northwest passage ; but the season was now so far advanced as to render such a plan impracticable, and he determined to waste no more time and money in an unavailing search ; and, therefore, made sail for England, where he arrived on the 26th of August, having been absent about four months

CHAPTER III.

Hudson's third Voyage.—He seeks Employment from the Dutch East India Company.—Sails from Amsterdam.—Disappointed in the Hope of passing through the Vaygats.—Sails Westward, to the Bank of Newfoundland, and thence to the Coast of America.—Enters Penobscot Bay.—Intercourse with the Natives.—Sails to Cape Cod, and explores the Coast to the Southward.—Returns to the North.—Discovers the Outlet of Hudson's River. and anchors in New York Bay.

THE London Company had become discouraged by two unsuccessful attempts to find a northern passage to China; and Hudson, whose mind was completely bent upon making the discovery, sought employment from the Dutch East India Company. The fame of his adventures had already reached Holland, and he had received from the Dutch the appellations of the bold Englishman, the expert pilot, the famous navigator.* The company were generally in fa-

* Yates and Moulton's *History of New York*, Vol. I. p. 201. These writers, in their account of Hudson's third voyage, make frequent references to a history of

vor of accepting the offer of his services, though the scheme was strongly opposed by Balthazar Moucheron, one of their number, who had some acquaintance with the Arctic seas. They accordingly gave him the command of a small vessel, named the *Half Moon*, with a crew of twenty men, Dutch and English, among whom was Robert Juet, who had accompanied him as mate on his second voyage. The Journal of the present voyage, which is published in Purchas's *Pilgrims* was written by Juet.

He sailed from Amsterdam the 25th of March, 1609, and doubled the North Cape in about a month. His object was to pass through the Vay gats, or perhaps to the north of Nova Zembla, and thus reach China by the northeast passage. But after contending for more than a fortnight with head winds, continual fogs, and ice, and finding it impossible to reach even the coast of Nova Zembla, he determined to abandon this plan, and endeavor to discover a passage by the northwest. He accordingly directed his course westerly, doubled the North Cape again, and in

the same expedition by Lambrechtsen, President of the Zeeland Society of Sciences, who appears to have had access to the records of the Dutch East India Company. A translation of his *Kort Beschryving* was made by Mr. Van der Kemp, and was consulted in manuscript by Yates and Moulton.

a few days saw a part of the western coast of Norway, in the latitude of sixty-eight degrees. From this point he sailed for the Faroe Islands, where he arrived about the end of May.

Having replenished his water casks at one of these islands, he again hoisted sail, and steered southwest, in the hope of making Buss Island, which had been discovered by Sir Martin Frobisher, in 1578, as he wished to ascertain if it was correctly laid down on the chart. As he did not succeed in finding it, he continued this course for nearly a month, having much severe weather, and a succession of gales, in one of which the foremast was carried away. Having arrived at the forty-fifth degree of latitude, he judged it best to shape his course westward, with the intention of making Newfoundland. While proceeding in this direction, he one day saw a vessel standing to the eastward, and, wishing to speak her, he put the ship about, and gave chase; but finding, as night came on, that he could not overtake her, he resumed the westerly course again.

On the 2d of July, he had soundings on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, and saw a whole fleet of Frenchmen fishing there. Being on soundings for several days, he determined to try his luck at fishing; and, the weather falling calm, he set the whole crew at work to so much

purpose, that, in the course of the morning, they took between one and two hundred very large cod. After two or three days of calm, the wind sprang up again, and he continued his course westward, till the 12th, when he first had sight of the coast of North America. The fog was so thick, however, that he did not venture nearer the coast for several days; but at length, the weather clearing up, he ran into a bay at the mouth of a large river, in the latitude of forty-four degrees. This was Penobscot Bay, on the coast of Maine.

He already had some notion of the kind of inhabitants he was to find here; for, a few days before, he had been visited by six savages, who came on board in a very friendly manner, and ate and drank with him. He found, that, from their intercourse with the French traders, they had learned a few words of their language. Soon after coming to anchor, he was visited by several of the natives, who appeared very harmless and inoffensive; and, in the afternoon, two boats full of them came to the ship, bringing beaver skins and other fine furs, which they wished to exchange for articles of dress. They offered no violence whatever, though we find in Juet's Journal constant expressions of distrust apparently without foundation.

They remained in this bay long enough to

cut and rig a new foremast; and, being now ready for sea, the men were sent on shore upon an expedition that disgraced the whole company. What Hudson's sentiments or motives, with regard to this transaction, were, we can only conjecture from a general knowledge of his character, as we have no account of it from himself. But it seems highly probable, that, if he did not project it, he at least gave his consent to its perpetration. The account is in the words of Juet, as follows. "In the morning we manned our scute with four muskets and six men, and took one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets, and two stone pieces, or murderers, and drave the salvages from their houses, and took the spoil of them, as they would have done of us." After this exploit, they returned to the ship, and set sail immediately. It does not appear from the Journal that the natives had ever offered them any harm, or given any provocation for so wanton an act. The writer only asserts, that they would have done it, if they could. No plea is more commonly used to justify tyranny and cruelty than the supposed bad intentions of the oppressed.

He now continued southward along the coast of America. It appears that Hudson had been

informed by his friend, Captain John Smith, that there was a passage to the western Pacific Ocean south of Virginia, and that, when he had proved the impossibility of going by the northeast, he had offered his crew the choice, either to explore this passage spoken of by Captain Smith, or to seek the northwest passage, by going through Davis's Strait. Many of the men had been in the East India service, and in the habit of sailing in tropical climates, and were consequently very unwilling to endure the severities of a high northern latitude. It was therefore voted, that they should go in search of the passage to the south of Virginia.

In a few days they saw land extending north, and terminating in a remarkable headland, which he recognised to be Cape Cod. Wishing to double the headland, he sent some of the men in the boat to sound along the shore, before venturing nearer with the ship. The water was five fathoms deep within bowshot of the shore, and, landing, they found, as the Journal informs us, "goodly grapes and rose trees," which they brought on board with them. He then weighed anchor, and advanced as far as the northern extremity of the headland.* Here he heard the

* There is some confusion in that part of the Journal, in which these particulars are related. The northernmost point of Cape Cod is in the latitude of $42^{\circ} 7'$

voice of some one calling to them ; and, thinking it possible some unfortunate European might have been left there, he immediately despatched some of the men to the shore. They found only a few savages ; but, as these appeared very friendly,

But the first "headland" described in the Journal was in $41^{\circ} 45'$, which corresponds very nearly with the south end of Chatham Beach. The course thence pursued was to the southeast, and we are told, two days afterwards, of another headland, "that lyeth in $41^{\circ} 10'$." And the journalist adds, "This is that headland, which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602, and called *Cape Cod*, because of the store of cod-fish that he found thereabout." But, if the latitude as here stated be correct, this headland was that of the southwest point of Nantucket.

De Laet's great work on the "New World" was published at Leyden, in the year 1625. He is said to have had in his possession a part of the Journal of this voyage, written by Hudson himself. He tells us, that Hudson first saw the land in latitude $41^{\circ} 43'$, and, supposing it to be an island, called it New Holland ; but that he afterwards discovered it to be connected with the continent, and the same as the *White Cape*, or *Cape Cod*, (promontorium *Blancum*, sive *Cod*.) He moreover adds, that Hudson ascertained this cape to be seventy five miles farther westward from Europe, than the position assigned to it in the charts.—*Novus Orbis*, Lib. III. c. 7. These discrepancies may perhaps be in some degree accounted for by the inaccuracy of the latitudes, or errors of figures in transcribing or printing the Journal ; but, after all, it is doubtful what parts of the promontory of Cape Cod were seen by Hudson.

they brought one of them on board, where they gave him refreshments, and also a present of three or four glass buttons, with which he seemed greatly delighted. The savages were observed to have green tobacco, and pipes, the bowls of which were made of clay, and the stems of red copper.

The wind not being favorable for passing west of this headland into the bay, Hudson determined to explore the coast farther south; and the next day he saw the southern point of Cape Cod, which had been discovered and named by Bartholomew Gosnold, in the year 1602. He passed in sight of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and continued a southerly course till the middle of August, when he arrived at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. "This," says the writer of the Journal, "is the entrance into the King's river,* in Virginia where our Englishmen are."† The colony, under the command of Newport, consisting of one hundred and five persons, among whom were Smith, Gosnold, Wingfield, and Ratcliffe, had arrived here a little more than two years before and, if Hudson could have landed, he would have enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing and conversing with his own countrymen, and in his own lan

* James River, thus called in honor of King James.

† Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 589.

guage, in the midst of the forests of the New World. But the wind was blowing a gale from the northeast, and, probably dreading a shore with which he was unacquainted, he made no attempt to find them.

He continued to ply to the south for several days, till he reached the latitude of thirty-five degrees forty-one minutes, when he again changed his course to the north. It is highly probable, that, if the journal of the voyage had been kept by Hudson himself, we should have been informed of his reasons for changing the southerly course at this point. The cause, however, is not difficult to conjecture. He had gone far enough to ascertain, that the information given him by Captain Smith, with respect to a passage into the Pacific south of Virginia, was incorrect; and he probably did not think it worth while to spend more time in so hopeless a search. He therefore retraced his steps; and, on the 28th of August, discovered Delaware Bay, where he examined the currents, soundings, and the appearance of the shores, without attempting to land. From this anchorage, he coasted northwards, the shore appearing low, like sunken ground, dotted with islands, till the 2d of September, when he saw the highlands of Never-sink, which, the journalist remarks, "is a very good land to fall with and a pleasant land to see."

The entrance into the southern waters of New York is thus described in the Journal. "At three of the clock in the afternoon, we came to three great rivers. So we stood along to the northernmost, thinking to have gone into it; but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the southern side of them; then we had five and six fathoms, and anchored. So we sent in our boat to sound, and they found no less water than four, five, six, and seven fathoms, and returned in an hour and a half. So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, oozy ground, and saw many salmons, and mullets, and rays very great." The next morning, having ascertained by sending in the boat, that there was a very good harbor before him, he ran in, and anchored at two cables' length from the shore. This was within Sandy Hook Bay.

He was very soon visited by the natives, who came on board his vessel, and seemed to be greatly rejoiced at his arrival among them. They brought green tobacco, which they desired to exchange for knives and beads; and Hudson observed, that they had copper pipes, and ornaments of copper. They also appeared to have plenty of maize, from which they made good

bread. Their dress was of deerskins, well cured, and hanging loosely about them. There is a tradition, that some of his men, being sent out to fish, landed on Coney Island. They found the soil sandy, but supporting a vast number of plum trees loaded with fruit, and grape vines growing round them.*

The next day, the men, being sent in the boat to explore the bay still farther, landed, probably on the Jersey Shore, where they were very kindly received by the savages, who gave them plenty of tobacco. They found the land covered with large oaks. Several of the natives also came on board, dressed in mantles of feathers and fine furs. Among the presents they brought, were dried currants, which were found extremely palatable.

Soon afterwards five of the men were sent in the boat to examine the north side of the bay, and sound the river, which was perceived at the distance of four leagues. They passed through the Narrows, sounding all along, and saw "a narrow river to the westward, between two islands"; supposed to be Staten Island and Bergen Neck. They described the land as covered with trees, grass, and flowers, and filled with delightful fragrance. On their return to the ship,

* *ates and Moulton's History of New York*, Vol. I. p 210

they were assaulted by two canoes, one containing twelve, and the other fourteen savages. It was nearly dark, and the rain which was falling had extinguished their match, so that they could only trust to their oars for escape. One of the men, John Colman, who had accompanied Hudson on his first voyage, was killed by an arrow shot into his throat, and two more were wounded. The darkness probably saved them from the savages, but at the same time it prevented their finding the vessel; so that they did not return till the next day, when they appeared bringing the body of their comrade. Hudson ordered him to be carried on shore and buried, and named the place, in memory of the event, Colman's Point.*

He now expected an attack from the natives, and accordingly hoisted in the boat, and erected a sort of bulwark along the sides of the vessel, for the better defence. But these precautions were needless. Several of the natives came on board, but in a friendly manner, wishing to exchange tobacco and Indian corn for the trifles which the sailors could spare them. They did not appear to know any thing of the affray, which had taken place. But, the day after, two large canoes came off to the vessel, the one filled

* Probably the point since known as Sandy Hook.

with armed men, the other under the pretence of trading. Hudson, however, would only allow two of the savages to come on board, keeping the rest at a distance. The two who came on board were detained, and Hudson dressed them up in red coats; the remainder returned to the shore. Presently another canoe, with two men in it, came to the vessel. Hudson also detained one of these, probably wishing to keep him as a hostage; but he very soon jumped overboard, and swam to the shore. On the 11th Hudson sailed through the Narrows, and anchored in New York bay.

CHAPTER IV.

Hudson explores the River which now bears his Name. — Escape of the Hostages. — Strange Experiment with the Natives. — Anchors near the present Site of Albany. — Returns down the River. — Battle with the Natives, near Hoboken. — Sails from the Bay, and leaves America. — Arrives in England.

HUDSON now prepared to explore the magnificent river, which came rolling its waters into the sea from unknown regions. Whither he would be conducted in tracing its course, he could form no conjecture. A hope may be supposed to have entered his mind, that the long desired passage to the Indies was now at length discovered; that here was to be the end of his toils; that here, in this mild climate, and amidst these pleasant scenes, was to be found that object, which he had sought in vain through the snows and ice of the Arctic zone. With a glad heart, then, he weighed anchor, on the 12th of September, and commenced his memorable voyage up that majestic stream, which now bears his name.

The wind only allowed him to advance a few

miles the first two days of the voyage ; but the time, which he was obliged to spend at anchor, was fully occupied in trading with the natives, who came off from the shore in great numbers, bringing oysters and vegetables. He observed that they had copper pipes, and earthen vessels to cook their meat in. They seemed very harmless and well disposed ; but the crew were unwilling to trust these appearances, and would not allow any of them to come on board. The next day, a fine breeze springing up from the southeast, he was able to make great progress, so that he anchored at night nearly forty miles from the place of starting in the morning. He observes, that "here the land grew very high and mountainous," so that he had undoubtedly anchored in the midst of the fine scenery of the Highlands.

When he awoke in the morning, he found a heavy mist overhanging the river and its shores, and concealing the summits of the mountains. But it was dispelled by the sun in a short time ; and, taking advantage of a fair wind, he weighed anchor, and continued the voyage. A little circumstance occurred this morning, which was destined to be afterwards painfully remembered. The two savages, whom he held as hostages, made their escape through the portholes of the vessel, and swam to the shore ; and, as soon

as the ship was under sail, they took pains to express their indignation at the treatment they had received, by uttering loud and angry cries. Towards night, he came to other mountains, which, he says, "lie from the river's side," and anchored, it is supposed, near the present site of Catskill Landing. "There," says the Journal, "we found very loving people, and very old men; where we were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish." *

The next morning, September 16th, the men were sent again to catch fish, but were not so successful as they had been the day before, in consequence of the savages having been there in their canoes all night. A large number of the natives came off to the ship, bringing Indian corn, pumpkins, and tobacco. The day was consumed in trading with the natives, and in filling the casks with fresh water; so that they did not weigh anchor till towards night. After sailing about five miles, finding the water shoal, they came to anchor, probably near the spot where the city of Hudson now stands. The weather was hot, and Hudson determined to set his men at work in the cool of the morning. He accordingly, on the 17th, weighed anchor at dawn,

* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 593.

and ran up the river about fifteen miles; when, finding shoals and small islands, he thought it best to anchor again. Towards night, the vessel having drifted near the shore, grounded in shoal water, but was easily drawn off, by carrying out the small anchor. She was aground again in a short time in the channel, but, the tide rising, she floated off.

The two days following, he advanced only about five miles, being much occupied by his intercourse with the natives. Being in the neighborhood of the present town of Castleton, he went on shore, where he was very kindly received by an old savage, "the governor of the country," who took him to his house, and gave him the best cheer he could. At his anchorage, also, five miles above this place, the natives came flocking on board, bringing a great variety of articles, such as grapes, pumpkins, beaver and otter skins, which they exchanged for beads, knives, and hatchets, or whatever trifles the sailors could spare them. The next day was occupied in exploring the river; four men being sent in the boat, under the command of the mate, for that purpose. They ascended several miles, and found the channel narrow, and in some places only two fathoms deep, but, after that, seven or eight fathoms. In the afternoon, they returned to the ship. Hudson resolved to pursue the examination of

the channel on the following morning, but was interrupted by the number of natives who came on board. Finding that he was not likely to gain any progress this day, he sent the carpenter ashore to prepare a new foreyard; and, in the mean time, prepared to make an extraordinary experiment on board.

From the whole tenor of the Journal, it is evident, that great distrust was entertained by Hudson and his men towards the natives. He now determined to ascertain, by intoxicating some of the chiefs, and thus throwing them off their guard, whether they were plotting any treachery. He accordingly invited several of them into the cabin, and gave them plenty of brandy to drink. One of these men had his wife with him, who, the Journal informs us, "sate so modestly as any one of our countrywomen would do in a strange place"; but the men had less delicacy, and were soon quite merry with the brandy. One of them, who had been on board from the first arrival of the ship, was completely intoxicated, and fell sound asleep, to the great astonishment of his companions, who probably feared that he had been poisoned; for they all took to their canoes and made for the shore, leaving their unlucky comrade on board. Their anxiety for his welfare, however, soon induced them to return; and they brought a quantity of beads, which they gave

him, perhaps to enable him to purchase his freedom from the spell that had been laid upon him.

The poor savage slept quietly all night, and, when his friends came to visit him the next morning, they found him quite well. This restored their confidence, so that they came to the ship again in crowds, in the afternoon, bringing various presents for Hudson. Their visit, which was one of unusual ceremony, is thus described in the *Journal*. "So, at three of the clock in the afternoon, they came aboard, and brought tobacco and more beads, and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and showed him all the country round about. Then they sent one of their company on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison, dressed by themselves, and they caused him to eat with them. Then they made him reverence, and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard."*

At night the mate returned in the boat, having been sent again to explore the river. He reported, that he had ascended eight or nine leagues, and found but seven feet of water, and irregular soundings.

It was evidently useless to attempt to ascend the river any further with the ship, and Hudson therefore determined to return. We may well

* Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 594.

imagine, that he was satisfied already with the result of the voyage, even supposing him to have been disappointed in not finding here a passage to the Indies. He had explored a great and navigable river to the distance of nearly a hundred and forty miles ; he had found the country along the banks extremely fertile, the climate delightful, and the scenery displaying every variety of beauty and grandeur ; and he knew that he had opened the way for his patrons to possessions, which might prove of inestimable value.

It is supposed, that the highest place which the *Half Moon* reached in the river, was the neighborhood of the present site of Albany ; and that the boats, being sent out to explore, ascended as high as Waterford, and probably some distance beyond. The voyage down the river was not more expeditious than it had been in ascending ; the prevalent winds were southerly, and for several days the ship could advance but very slowly. The time, however, passed agreeably, in making excursions on the shore ; where they found "good ground for corn and other garden herbs, with a great store of goodly oaks, and walnut trees, and chesnut trees, ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of slate for houses, and other good stones ;" or in receiving visits from the natives, who came off to the ship in numbers.

While Hudson was at anchor near the spot where the city bearing his name now stands, two canoes came from the place where the scene of the intoxication had occurred, and in one of them was the old man, who had been the sufferer under the strange experiment. He brought another old man with him, who presented Hudson with a string of beads, and "showed all the country there about, as though it were at his command." Hudson entertained them at dinner, with four of their women, and in the afternoon dismissed them with presents.

He continued the voyage down the river, taking advantage of wind and tide as he could, and employing the time, when at anchor, in fishing or in trading with the natives, who came to the ship nearly every day, till, on the 1st of October, he anchored near Stony Point.

The vessel was no sooner perceived from the shore to be stationary, than a party of the native mountaineers came off in their canoes to visit it, and were filled with wonder at every thing it contained. While the attention of the crew was taken up with their visitors upon deck, one of the savages managed to run his canoe under the stern, and, climbing up the rudder found his way into the cabin by the window; where, having seized a pillow and a few articles of wearing apparel, he made off with them in

the canoe. The mate detected him as he fled, fired at, and killed him. Upon this, all the other savages departed with the utmost precipitation; some taking to their canoes, and others plunging into the water. The boat was manned and sent after the stolen goods, which were easily recovered; but, as the men were returning to the vessel, one of the savages, who were in the water, seized hold of the keel of the boat, with the intention, as was supposed, of upsetting it. The cook took a sword and lopped his hand off, and the poor wretch immediately sunk. They then weighed anchor and advanced about five miles.

The next day, Hudson descended about seven leagues, and anchored. Here he was visited in a canoe by one of the two savages, who had escaped from the ship as he was going up. But fearing treachery, he would not allow him or his companions to come on board. Two canoes filled with armed warriors then came under the stern, and commenced an attack with arrows. The men fired at them with their muskets, and killed three of them. More than a hundred savages now came down upon the nearest point of land, to shoot at the vessel. One of the cannon was brought to bear upon these warriors, and, at the first discharge, two of them were killed, and the rest fled to the woods.

The savages were not yet discouraged. They

nad, doubtless, been instigated to make this attack by the two, who escaped near West Point, and who had probably incited their countrymen by the story of their imprisonment, as well as by representing to them the value of the spoil, if they could capture the vessel, and the small number of men who guarded it. Nine or ten of the boldest warriors now threw themselves into a canoe, and put off towards the ship; but a shot from the cannon made a hole in the canoe, and killed one of the men. This was followed by a discharge of musketry, which destroyed three or four more. This put an end to the battle; and in the evening, having descended about five miles, Hudson anchored in a part of the river out of the reach of his enemies, probably near Hoboken.

Hudson had now explored the bay of New York, and the noble stream which pours into it from the north. For his employers he had secured possessions, which would beyond measure reward them for the expense they had incurred in fitting out the expedition. For himself, he had gained a name, that was destined to live in the gratitude of a great nation, through unnumbered generations. Happy in the result of his labors, and in the brilliant promise they afforded, he spread his sails again for the Old World, on the 4th of October, and, in a little more than a month, arrived safely at Dartmouth, in England

The Journal kept by Juet ends abruptly at this place. The question, therefore, immediately arises, whether Hudson pursued his voyage to Holland, or whether he remained in England, and sent the vessel home. Several Dutch authors assert, that Hudson was not allowed, after reaching England, to pursue his voyage to Amsterdam; and this seems highly probable, when we remember the well known jealousy with which the maritime enterprises of the Dutch were regarded by King James.

Whether Hudson went to Holland himself, or not, it seems clear from various circumstances, that he secured to the Dutch Company all the benefits of his discoveries, by sending to them his papers and charts. It is worthy of note, that the earliest histories of this voyage, with the exception of Juet's Journal, were published by Dutch authors. Moreover, as we have already seen, Hudson's own Journal, or some portion of it at least, was in Holland, and was used by De Laet previously to the publication of Juet's Journal in Purchas's *Pilgrims*. But the most substantial proof, that the Dutch enjoyed the benefit of his discoveries earlier than any other nation, is the fact, that the very next year they were trading in Hudson's River; which it is not probable would have happened, if they had not had possession of Hudson's charts and Journal.

CHAPTER V.

Hudson's Fourth Voyage.— *He engages in the Service of the London Company.*— *Sails to Iceland.*— *Disturbances among his Crew.*— *Advances westward.*— *In great Danger from the Ice.*— *Enters and explores Hudson's Bay.*— *Unsuccessful in the Search for a Western Passage.*— *Determines to winter in the Bay*

THE success of Hudson's last voyage probably stimulated the London Company to take him again into their employment, and to fit out another vessel in search of that great object of discovery, the northwest passage. We find him setting out on a voyage, under their auspices, early in the spring of 1610. His crew numbered several persons, who were destined to act a conspicuous part in the melancholy events of this expedition. Among these were Robert Juet, who had already sailed with him as mate in two of his voyages; Habakuk Pricket, a man of some intelligence and education, who had been in the service of Sir Dudley Digges, one of the London Company, and from whose Journal we learn chiefly the events of the voyage; and Henry Greene, of whose character and circum

stances it is necessary here to give a brief account.

It appears from the Journal, that Greene was a young man of good abilities and education, born of highly respectable parents, but of such abandoned character, that he had forced his family to cast him off. Hudson found him in this condition, took pity upon him, and received him into his house in London. When it was determined, that he should command this expedition, Hudson resolved to take Greene with him, in the hope, that, by exciting his ambition, and by withdrawing him from his accustomed haunts, he might reclaim him. Greene was also a good perman, and would be useful to Hudson in that capacity. With much difficulty Greene's mother was persuaded to advance four pounds, to buy clothes for him; and, at last, the money was placed in the hands of an agent, for fear that it would be wasted if given directly to him. He was not registered in the Company's books, nor did he sail in their pay; but Hudson, to stimulate him to reform, promised to give him wages, and on his return to get him appointed one of the Prince's guards, provided he should behave well on the voyage.

Hudson was also accompanied, as usual, by his son. The crew consisted of twenty-three men and the vessel was named the *Discovery*.

The London Company had insisted upon Hudson's taking in the ship a person, who was to aid him by his knowledge and experience, and in whom they felt great confidence. This arrangement seems to have been very disagreeable to Hudson, as he put the man into another vessel before he reached the mouth of the Thames, and sent him back to London, with a letter to his employers stating his reasons for so doing. What these reasons were, we can form no conjecture, as there is no hint given in the Journal.

He sailed from London on the 17th of April, 1610. Steering north from the mouth of the Thames, and passing in sight of the northern part of Scotland, the Orkney, Shetland, and Faroe Isles, and having, in a little more than a month, sailed along the southern coast of Iceland, where he could see the flames ascending from Mount Hecla, he anchored in a bay on the western side of that island. Here they found a spring so hot, that "it would scald a fowl," in which the crew bathed freely. At this place, Hudson discovered signs of a turbulent and mutinous disposition in his crew. The chief plotter seems to have been Robert Juet, the mate. Before reaching Iceland, Juet had remarked to one of the crew, that there would be bloodshed before the voyage was over; and he was evidently at

that time contriving some mischief.* While the ship was at anchor in this bay, a circumstance occurred, which gave Juet an opportunity to commence his intrigues. It is thus narrated by Pricket.

“At Iceland, the surgeon and he [Henry Greene] fell out in Dutch, and he beat him ashore in English, which set all the company in a rage, so that we had much ado to get the surgeon aboard. I told the master of it, but he bade me let it alone; for, said he, the surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend he had. But Robert Juet, the master’s mate, would needs burn his finger in the embers, and told the carpenter a long tale, when he was drunk, that our master had brought in Greene to crack his credit that should displease him; which words came to the master’s ears, who, when he understood it, would have gone back to Iceland, when he was forty leagues from thence, to have sent home his mate, Robert Juet, in a fisherman. But, being otherwise persuaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood; but for religion, he would say, he was clean paper, whereon he might write what he would.”†

* Wydhouse’s note; Purchas’s *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 609

† Purchas’s *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 601

He sailed from Iceland on the 1st of June, and for several days Juet continued to instigate the crew to mutiny, persuading them to put the ship about and return to England.* This, as we have seen, came to the knowledge of Hudson, and he threatened to send Juet back, but was finally pacified. In a few days he made the coast of Greenland, which appeared very mountainous, the hills rising like sugar loaves, and covered with snow. But the ice was so thick all along the shore, that it was found impossible to land. He therefore steered for the south of Greenland, where he encountered great numbers of whales. Two of these monsters passed under the ship, but did no harm; for which the journalist was devoutly thankful. Having doubled the southern point of Greenland, he steered northwest, passed in sight of Desolation Island, in the neighborhood of which he saw a huge island or mountain of ice, and continued northwest till the latter part of June, when he came in sight of land bearing north, which he supposed to be an island set down in his chart in the northerly part of Davis's Strait. His wish was to sail along the western coast of this island, and thus get to the north of it; but adverse winds and the quanti-

* Wydhouse's note; Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p 609.

ties of ice, which he encountered every day, prevented him.

Being south of this land, he fell into a current setting westwardly, which he followed, but was in constant danger from the ice. One day, an enormous mountain of ice turned over near the ship, but fortunately without touching it. This served as a warning to keep at a distance from these masses, to prevent the ship from being crushed by them. He encountered a severe storm, which brought the ice so thick about the ship, that he judged it best to run her among the largest masses, and there let her lie. In this situation, says the journalist, "some of our men fell sick ; I will not say it was of fear, although I saw small sign of other grief." As soon as the storm abated, Hudson endeavoured to extricate himself from the ice. Wherever any open space appeared, he directed his course, sailing in almost every direction ; but the longer he contended with the ice, the more completely did he seem to be enclosed, till at last he could go no further. The ship seemed to be hemmed in on every side, and in danger of being soon closely wedged, so as to be immovable. In this perilous situation, even the stout heart of Hudson almost yielded to the feeling of despair ; and, as he afterwards confessed to one of the men, he thought he should never escape from the ice, but that he was doomed to perish there

He did not, however, allow his crew, at the time, to be aware what his apprehensions really were; but, assembling them all around him, he brought out his chart, and showed them that they had advanced in this direction a hundred leagues further than any Englishman had done before; and gave them their choice whether to proceed, or to return home. The men could come to no agreement; some were in favor of returning, others were for pushing forward. This was probably what Hudson expected; the men were mutinous, and yet knew not what they wanted themselves. Having fairly convinced them of this, it was easier to set them at work to extricate the ship from her immediate danger. After much time and labor, they made room to turn the ship round, and then by little and little they worked their way along for a league or two, when they found a clear sea.

The scene which has just been described, seems indeed a subject worthy of the talents of a skillful painter. The fancy of the artist would represent the dreary and frightful appearance of the ice-covered sea, stretching away as far as the eye could reach, a bleak and boundless waste; the dark and broken clouds driving across the fitful sky; the ship motionless amidst the islands and mountains of ice, her shrouds and sails being fringed and stiffened with the frozen spray. On

the deck would appear the form of Hudson himself, displaying the chart to his men; his countenance care-worn and sad, but still concealing, under the appearance of calmness and indifference, the apprehensions and forebodings, which harrowed his mind. About him would be seen the rude and ruffian-like men; some examining the chart with eager curiosity, some glaring on their commander with eyes of hatred and vengeance, and expressing in their looks those murderous intentions, which they at last so fatally executed.

Having reached a clear sea, Hudson pursued his course northwest, and in a short time saw land bearing southwest, which appeared very mountainous and covered with snow. This he named *Desire Provokes*. He had now entered the Strait which bears his name, and, steering west, he occupied nearly the whole month of July in passing through it. To the various capes, islands, and promontories, which he saw, he gave names either in commemoration of some circumstance, which happened at the time, or in honor of persons and places at home, or else for the reward of the discoverer.

Some islands, near which he anchored, and where his ship was but just saved from the rocks, he called the *Isles of God's Mercies*. On the 19th, he passed a point of land, which he named

Hold with Hope. To the main land, which he soon after discovered, he gave the name of *Magna Britannia*. On the 2d of September, he saw a headland on the northern shore, which he named *Salisbury's Foreland*; and, running southwest from this point about fourteen leagues, he entered a passage not more than five miles in width, the southern cape at the entrance of which he named *Cape Worsenholme*, and that on the north side, *Cape Digges*.

He now hoped, that the passage to the western sea was open before him, and that the great discovery was at length achieved. He therefore sent a number of the men on shore at Cape Digges, to ascend the hills, in the hope that they would see the great ocean open to them beyond the Strait. The exploring party, however, were prevented from making any discovery, by a violent thunder storm, which soon drove them back to the ship. They saw plenty of deer, and soon after espied a number of small piles of stones, which they at first supposed must be the work of some civilized person. On approaching them, and lifting up one of the stones, they found them to be hollow, and filled with fowls, hung by the neck. They endeavored to persuade their commander to wait here, till they could provision the ship from the stores, which were thus remarkably provided for

them But his ardor was so great to find his way into the ocean, which he felt convinced was immediately in the vicinity, that he could suffer no delay, but ordered his men to weigh anchor at once; a precipitancy which he had afterwards reason bitterly to regret. Having advanced about ten leagues through the Strait, he came into the great open Bay or sea which bears his name.

Having entered the Bay, he pursued a southerly course for nearly a month, till he arrived at the bottom of the Bay; when, finding that he was disappointed in his expectation of thus reaching the western seas, he changed his course to the north, in order to retrace his steps. On the 10th of September, he found it necessary to inquire into the conduct of some of the men, whose mutinous disposition had manifested itself a good deal of late. Upon investigation, it appeared, that the mate, Robert Juet, and Francis Clement, the boatswain, had been the most forward in exciting a spirit of insubordination. The conduct of Juet at Iceland was again brought up, and, as it appeared that both he and Clement had been lately plotting against the commander, they were both deposed, and Robert Billet was appointed mate, and William Wilton boatswain.

The remaining part of September and all October were passed in exploring the great Bay

At times the weather was so bad, that they were compelled to run into some bay and anchor; and in one of the storms they were obliged to cut away the cable, and so lost their anchor. At another time they ran upon a sunken ledge of rocks, where the ship stuck fast for twelve hours, but was at last got off without being much injured. The last of October having now arrived, and winter beginning to set in, Hudson ran the vessel into a small bay, and sent a party in search of a good place to intrench themselves till the spring. They soon found a convenient station; and, bringing the ship thither, they hauled her aground. This was on the 1st of November. In ten days they were completely frozen in, and the ship firmly fixed in the ice.

CHAPTER VI.

Dreary Prospect for the Winter. — Disturbances and Sufferings of the Crew. — Unexpected Supply of Provisions. — Distress from Famine. — Hudson sails from his Wintering-Place — Mutiny of Greene and Others. — Fate of Hudson and Eight of the Crew. — Fate of Greene and Others of the Mutineers. — Return of the Vessel to England.

THE prospect for Hudson and his men was now dreary and disheartening. In addition to the rigors of a long winter, in a high northern latitude, they had to apprehend the suffering, which would arise from a scarcity of provisions. The vessel had been victualled for six months, and that time having now expired, and their stores falling short, while, at the same time, the chance of obtaining supplies from hunting and fishing was very precarious, it was found necessary to put the crew upon an allowance. In order, however, to stimulate the men to greater exertions, Hudson offered a reward or bounty for every beast, fish, or fowl, which they should kill; hoping, that in this way the scanty stock

of provisions might be made to hold out till the breaking up of the ice in the spring.

About the middle of November, John Williams, the gunner, died. We are not informed what was his disease, but we are led to suppose from the Journal, that his death was hastened, if not caused, by the unkind treatment he experienced from Hudson. It appears very evident from the simple narration by Pricket, that "the master," as he calls him, had become hasty and irritable in his temper. This is more to be regretted, than wondered at. The continual hardships and disappointments, to which he had been exposed, and especially the last unhappy failure in discovering the northwest passage, when he had believed himself actually within sight of it, must have operated powerfully upon an ardent and enthusiastic mind like his, in which the feeling of regret at failure is always proportionate to the strength and confidence of hope when first formed. In addition to this, the troublesome disposition of the crew, which must have caused ceaseless anxiety, undoubtedly contributed much to disturb his calmness and self-possession, and render him precipitate and irritable in his conduct. Many proofs of this soon occurred.

The death of the gunner was followed by consequences, which may be regarded as the beginning of troubles, that in the end proved fatal.

It appears, that it was the custom in those times, when a man died at sea, to sell his clothes to the crew by auction. In one respect, Hudson violated this custom, and probably gained no little ill will thereby. The gunner had a gray cloth gown or wrapper, which Henry Greene had set his heart upon possessing; and Hudson, wishing to gratify his favorite, refused to put it up to public sale, but gave Greene the sole choice of purchasing it.

Not long after this, Hudson ordered the carpenter to go on shore, and build a house, or hut, for the accommodation of the crew. The man replied, that it would now be impossible to do such a piece of work, from the severity of the weather, and the quantity of snow. The house ought to have been erected when they had first fixed their station there, but now it was too late, and Hudson had refused to have it done at first. The carpenter's refusal to perform the work excited the anger of the master to such a degree, that he drove him violently from the cabin, using the most opprobrious language, and finally threatening to hang him.

Greene appeared to take sides with the carpenter, which made Hudson so angry, that he gave the gown, which Greene had coveted so much, to Billet, the mate; telling Greene, with much abusive language, that, as not one of his

friends at home would trust him to the value of twenty shillings, he could not be expected to trust him for the value of the gown; and that, as for wages, he should have none if he did not behave better. These bitter taunts sunk deep into Greene's heart, and no doubt incited him to further mutinous conduct.

The sufferings of the men were not less, during the winter, than they had had reason to apprehend. Many of them were made lame, probably from chilblains and freezing their feet; and Pricket complains in the Journal, written after the close of the voyage, that he was still suffering from the effects of this winter. They were, however, much better supplied with provisions than they had anticipated. For three months they had such an abundance of white partridges about the ship, that they killed a hundred dozen of them; and, on the departure of these, when spring came, they found a great plenty of swans, geese, ducks, and other waterfowl.

Hudson was in hopes, when he saw these wild fowl, that they had come to breed in these regions, which would have rendered it much easier to catch them; but he found that they went still further north for this purpose. Before the ice had broken up, these birds too had disappeared, and the horror of starvation began to stare them in the face. They were forced to

search the hills, woods, and valleys, for any thing that might afford them subsistence ; even the moss growing on the ground, and disgusting reptiles, were not spared. Their sufferings were somewhat relieved, at last, by the use of a bud, which is described as "full of turpentine matter."* Of these buds the surgeon made a decoction, which he gave the men to drink, and also applied them hot to their bodies, wherever any part was affected. This was undoubtedly very effectual in curing the scurvy.

About the time that the ice began to break up, they were visited by a savage, whom Hudson treated so well, that he returned the day after to the ship, bringing several skins, some of which he gave in return for presents he had received the day before. For others Hudson traded with him, but made such hard bargains, that he never visited them again. As soon as the ice would allow of it, some of the men were sent out to fish. The first day they were very successful, catching about five hundred fish ; but after this, they never succeeded in taking a quarter part of this number in one day. Being greatly distressed by want of provisions, Hudson took the boat and coasted along the

* Probably the bud of the Tacamahaca tree, the *Populus balsamifera* of Linnæus.

bay to the southwest, in the hope of meeting some of the natives, from whom he might obtain supplies. He saw the woods blazing at a distance, where they had been set on fire by the natives; but he was not able at any time to come within sight of the people themselves. After an absence of several days, he returned unsuccessful to the ship.

The only effect of this little expedition was defeating a conspiracy, formed by Greene, Wilson, and some others, to seize the boat and make off with her. They were prevented from putting this scheme in execution by Hudson's unexpected determination to use the boat himself. Well would it have been for him, if they had been allowed to follow their wishes.

Having returned to the ship, and finding every thing now prepared for their departure according to his directions, before weighing anchor he went through the mournful task of distributing to his crew the small remnant of the provisions, about a pound of bread to each man; which he did with tears in his eyes. He also gave them a bill of return, as a sort of certificate for any who might live to reach home. Some of the men were so ravenous, that they devoured in a day or two the whole of their allowance of bread.

They sailed from the bay, in which they had

passed the winter, about the middle of June, and, in three or four days, being surrounded with ice, were obliged to anchor. The bread he had given the men, and a few pounds of cheese, which had remained, were consumed. Hudson now intimated to one of the crew, that the chests of all the men would be searched, to find any provisions that might have been concealed there; and ordered him at the same time to bring all that was in his. The man obeyed, and produced thirty cakes in a bag. This indiscretion on the part of Hudson appears to have greatly exasperated his crew, and to have been the immediate cause of open mutiny.

They had been detained at anchor in the ice about a week, when the first signs of this mutiny appeared. Greene, and Wilson, the boat-swain, came in the night to Pricket, who was lying in his berth very lame, and told him, that they and several of the crew had resolved to seize Hudson, and set him adrift in the boat, with all on board who were disabled by sickness; that there were but few days' provisions left, and the master appeared entirely irresolute which way to go; that for themselves they had eaten nothing for three days; their only hope, therefore, was in taking command of the ship, and escaping from these regions as quickly as possible; and that they would carry their plot into execution, or perish in the attempt.

Pricket remonstrated with them in the most earnest manner, entreating them to abandon such a wicked intention, and reminding them of their wives and children, from whom they would be banished for ever, if they stained themselves with so great a crime. But all he could say had no effect. He then besought them to delay the execution for three days, for two days, for only twelve hours ; but they sternly refused. Pricket then told them, that it was not their safety for which they were anxious, but that they were bent upon shedding blood and revenging themselves, which made them so hasty. Upon this, Greene took up the bible which lay there, and swore upon it, that he would do no man harm, and that what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else. Wilson took the same oath, and after him came Juet and the other conspirators separately, and swore in the same words. The words of the oath are recorded by Pricket, because, after his return to England, he was much blamed for administering any oath, as he seemed by so doing to side with the mutineers. The oath, as administered by him, ran as follows ;

“ You shall swear truth to God, your Prince, and Country ; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man.” How little regard was paid to this oath by the mutineers, will shortly appear

It was decided, that the plot should be put in execution at daylight; and, in the mean time, Greene went into Hudson's cabin to keep him company and prevent his suspicions from being excited. They had determined to put the carpenter and John King into the boat with Hudson and the sick, having some grudge against them for their attachment to the master. King and the carpenter had slept upon deck this night. But about daybreak, King was observed to go down into the hold with the cook, who was going for water. Some of the mutineers ran and shut down the hatch over them, while Greene and another engaged the attention of the carpenter, so that he did not observe what was going on.

Hudson now came up from the cabin, and was immediately seized by Thomas, and Bennet, the cook, who had come up from the hold, while Wilson ran behind and bound his arms. He asked them what they meant, and they told him he would know when he was in the shallop. Hudson called on the carpenter to help him, telling him that he was bound; but he could render him no assistance, being surrounded by mutineers. In the mean time, Juet had gone down into the hold, where King was; but the latter, having armed himself with a sword, attacked Juet, and would have killed him, if the

noise had not been heard upon deck by the conspirators, some of whom ran down and overpowered him. While this was done, two of the sick men, Lodlo and Bute, boldly reproached their shipmates for their wickedness, telling them, that their knavery would show itself, and that their actions were prompted by mere vengeance, not the wish to preserve their lives. But their words had no effect.

The boat was now hauled along side, and the sick and lame were called up from their berths. Pricket crawled upon deck as well as he could, and Hudson, seeing him, called to him to come to the hatchway to speak with him. Pricket entreated the men, on his knees, for the love of God to remember their duty, and do as they would be done by; but they only told him to go back to his berth, and would not allow him to have any communication with Hudson. When Hudson was in the boat, he called again to Pricket, who was at the horn window, which lighted his cabin, and told him that Juet would "overthrow" them all. "Nay," said Pricket, "it is that villain, Henry Greene;" and this he said as loud as he could.

After Hudson was put into the boat, the carpenter was set at liberty, but he refused to remain in the ship unless they forced him; so they told him he might go in the boat, and allowed

him to take his chest with him. Before he got into the boat, he went down to take leave of Pricket, who entreated him to remain in the ship; but the carpenter said he believed that they would soon be taken on board again, as there was no one left who knew enough to bring the ship home; and that he was determined not to desert the master. He thought the boat would be kept in tow; but, if they should be parted, he begged Pricket to leave some token for them if he should reach Digges's Cape first. They then took leave of each other with tears in their eyes, and the carpenter went into the boat, taking a musket and some powder and shot, an iron pot, a small quantity of meal, and other provisions. Hudson's son and six of the men were also put into the boat. The sails were now hoisted, and they stood eastward with a fair wind, dragging the shallop from the stern; and in a few hours, being clear of the ice, they cut the rope by which the boat was dragged, and soon after lost sight of her for ever.

The account here given of the mutiny, nearly in the words of Pricket, an eyewitness of the event. It is difficult at first to perceive the whole enormity of the crime. The more we reflect upon it, the blacker it appears. Scarcely a circumstance is wanting, that could add to the baseness of the villany, or the horror of the

suffering inflicted. The principal conspirators were men, who were bound to Hudson by long friendship, by lasting obligations, and by common interests, adventures, and sufferings. Juett had sailed with him on two of his former voyages, and had shared in the glory of his discoveries. Greene had been received into his house, when abandoned even by his own mother; had been kindly and hospitably entertained, encouraged to reform, and taken, on Hudson's private responsibility, into a service in which he might gain celebrity and wealth. Wilson had been selected from among the crew, by the approving eye of the commander, and appointed to a place of trust and honor. Yet these men conspired to murder their benefactor, and instigated the crew to join in their execrable scheme.

Not contented with the destruction of their commander, that nothing might be wanting to fill up the measure of their wickedness, they formed the horrible plan of destroying, at the same time, all of their companions, whom sickness and suffering had rendered a helpless and unresisting prey to their cruelty. The manner of effecting this massacre was worthy of the authors of such a plot. To have killed their unhappy victims outright would have been comparatively merciful; but a long, lingering, and painful death was chosen for them. The imagi

vation turns with intense and fearful interest to the scene. The form of the commander is before us, bound hand and foot, condescending to no supplication to the mutineers, but calling in vain for assistance from those, who would gladly have helped him, but who were overpowered by numbers, or disabled by sickness. The cry of the suffering and dying rings in our ears, as they are dragged from their beds, to be exposed to the inclemencies of the ice-covered sea in an open boat. Among them appears the young son of Hudson, whose tender years can wake no compassion in the cold-blooded murderers.

We refrain from following them, even in fancy, through their sufferings after they are separated from the ship; their days and nights of agony, their cry of distress, and the frenzy of starvation, their hopes of relief defeated, their despair, and their raving as death comes on. Over these awful scenes the hand of God has hung a veil, which hides them from us for ever. Let us not seek to penetrate, even in imagination, the terrors which it conceals.

How far Pricket's account, in regard to the course pursued by Hudson, is worthy of confidence, must be left to conjecture. It should be remembered, however, that Pricket was not free from the suspicion of having been in some degree implicated in the conspiracy, and that his

narrative was designed in part as a vindication of himself. The indiscreet severity charged upon Hudson, and the hasty temper he is represented to have shown, in embroiling himself with his men, for apparently trifling reasons, are not consistent with the moderation, good sense, and equanimity, with which his conduct had been marked in all his preceding voyages. It is moreover hardly credible, that, knowing as he did, the mutinous spirit of some of the crew, he should so rashly inflame this spirit, at a time when he was surrounded by imminent dangers, and when his safety depended on the united support of all the men under his command. Hence, whatever reliance may be placed on the veracity of Pricket, it is due to the memory of Hudson not to overlook the circumstances, by which his pen may have been biased.

When Hudson and the men were deposited in the boat, the mutineers busied themselves with breaking open chests and pillaging the ship. They found in the cabin a considerable quantity of biscuit, and a butt of beer; and there were a few pieces of pork, some meal, and a half bushel of pease in the hold. These supplies were enough to save them from immediate starvation; and they expected to find plenty of game at Digges's Cape.

Henry Greene was appointed commander,

though evidently too ignorant for the place. It was a full month before they could find their way to the Strait, which leads out of the great Bay in which they had wintered. Part of this time they were detained by the ice; but several days were spent in searching for the passage into Davis's Strait. During this time they landed often, and sometimes succeeded in catching a few fish or wild fowl; but supplied their wants principally by gathering the cockle-grass, which was growing in abundance on every part of the shore. They arrived within sight of Digges's Cape about the last of July, and immediately sent the boat on shore for provisions. The men who landed found considerable quantities of game, as it was a place where the wild fowl breed. There were great numbers of savages about the shore, who appeared very friendly, and testified their joy by lively gestures.

The next day Henry Greene went ashore, accompanied by Wilson, Thomas, Perse, Moter, and Pricket. The last was left in the boat, which was made fast to a large rock, and the others went on shore in search of provisions. While some of the men were busy in gathering sorrel from the rocks, and Greene was surrounded by the natives, with whom he was trading, Pricket, who was lying in the stern of the boat, observed one of the savages coming

in at the bows. Pricket made signs to him to keep off; and while he was thus occupied, another savage stole round behind him. Pricket suddenly saw the leg and foot of a man by him, and looking up, perceived a savage with a knife in his hand, aiming a blow at him. He prevented the wound from being fatal, by raising his arm and warding off the blow; but was still severely cut. Springing up, he grappled with the savage, and drawing his dagger, at length put him to death.

In the mean time, Greene and the others were assaulted by the savages on shore, and with difficulty reached the boat, all of them wounded except Perse and Moter. The latter saved his life by plunging into the water, and catching hold of the stern of the boat. No sooner had they pushed off, than the savages let fly a shower of arrows, which killed Greene outright, and mortally wounded some of the others, among them Perse, who had hitherto escaped. Perse and Moter began to row toward the ship, but Perse soon fainted, and Moter was left to manage the boat alone, as he had escaped unwounded. The body of Greene was thrown immediately into the sea. Wilson and Thomas died that day in great torture, and Perse two days afterwards.

The remainder of the crew were glad to de-

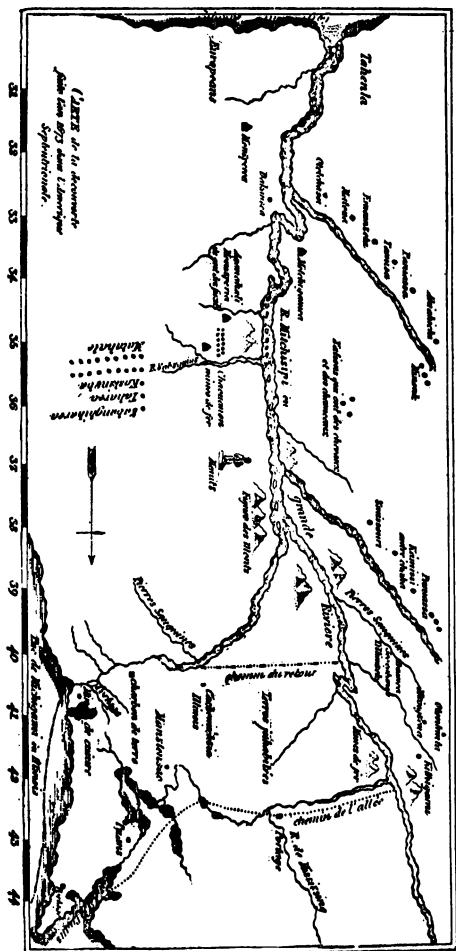
part from the scene of this fatal combat, and immediately set sail, with the intention of reaching Ireland as soon as possible. While they were in the Strait, they managed to kill a few wild fowl occasionally; but the supply was so small, that they were obliged to limit the crew to half a fowl a day, which they cooked with meal; but this soon failed, and they were forced to devour the candles. The cook fried the bones of the fowls in tallow, and mixed this mess with vinegar, which, says Pricket, was "a great daintie."

Before they reached Ireland, they were so weakened, that they were forced to sit at the helm to steer, as no one among them was able to stand. Just before they came in sight of land, Juet died of want, thus meeting the very fate, to avoid which he had murdered his commander and friend. The men were now in utter despair. Only one fowl was left for their subsistence, and another day would be their last. They abandoned all care of the vessel, and prepared to meet their fate, when the joyful cry of "a sail," was heard. It proved to be a fishing vessel, which took them into a harbor in Ireland, from which they hired a pilot to take them to England; where they all arrived in safety, after an absence of a year and five months.

The year following, the *Discovery*, the vessel in which Hudson made his last voyage, and the *Resolution*, were sent out, under the command of Captain Thomas Button, who was accompanied by Pricket, in the hope of learning something of the fate of Hudson, and of relieving him; and, at the same time, to discover, if possible, the northwest passage. Pricket had observed, in the voyage with Hudson, when the ship had struck upon a rock near Digges's Island, that a strong tide from the westward had floated her off again. The London Company had hopes, from this fact, that there might be a passage to the western ocean at no great distance from this place. The expedition was unsuccessful in both objects. No tidings of Hudson could ever be gained; and the discovery of the northwest passage is a problem, which, after the lapse of more than two centuries, has scarcely yet been solved.

LIFE
OF
PÈRE MARQUETTE
BY
JARED SPARKS

FAC-SIMILE OF THE MAP ATTACHED TO MARQUETTE'S JOURNAL—REDUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL.



PÈRE MARQUETTE.*

It is generally believed, that the Mississippi River was first discovered by Ferdinand de Soto, as early as 1541. The accounts of his expedition in Florida are so highly exaggerated, so indefinite, and in many parts so obviously false, that little more can be inferred from them, than that he passed far into the country, had many combats with the natives, and finally died in the interior. The probability is so strong, however, that he and his party actually crossed the Mississippi, that it has usually been assumed as a historical fact.

Soto had distinguished himself as a military leader under Pizarro, in the conquest of Peru. He returned to Spain, renowned for his exploits, and enriched by the spoils of the Peruvians and of their unfortunate monarch Atahualpa, extorted

* A large part of this Memoir has heretofore been published in the appendix to the second edition of BUTLER's *History of Kentucky*. It is here reprinted with considerable additions.

by iniquity and violence. He appeared in much splendor at the court of Spain, and, becoming acquainted with one of the companions of Narvaez, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Florida, he formed the project of achieving the conquest of that country. He solicited permission from Charles the Fifth to undertake the enterprise at his own expense, and his request was granted. The fame of Soto, the great wealth he had acquired in Peru, and the hope of making similar acquisitions in Florida, drew around him many adventurers, some of whom belonged to the first families in Spain. Several persons also joined him from the town of Elvas, in Portugal. In a short time he procured seven ships, and supplied them with every thing necessary for the voyage. The fleet sailed from St. Lucar, in the month of April, 1538, proceeding first to St. Jago in Cuba, and thence to Havana. The number of men that accompanied him is not precisely known. The most authentic account states it to have been six hundred; according to others it was much larger.

The Emperor had appointed Soto governor of Cuba, with the title of General of Florida, and Marquis of all the lands he might conquer. Leaving his wife at Havana, he sailed from that port on the 18th of May, 1539, and landed at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, in Florida. After

many wanderings and adventures, he arrived at the *Great River*, so called in the narrative, (supposed to be the Mississippi,) and crossed it in June or July, 1541. He died the next year, on the 21st of May; and his followers, under Moscoso, as the story says, constructed brigantines, in which they sailed down the river to its mouth, and, after a voyage of fifty days, they entered the river Panuco, in Mexico, on the 10th of September, 1543.

The first account of Soto's expedition purports to have been written by one of the Portuguese adventurers, who accompanied it throughout, and returned to his native country; and who styles himself, in the titlepage of his narrative, "Fidalgo d'Elvas," rendered by Hakluyt, "*A Gentleman of Elvas*." The name of the writer has never been ascertained. The book was first published at Evora, in 1557, more than fifteen years after the principal events it narrates.* There is much show of exactness in regard to dates,

* The title of this edition is as follows. "*Relacam Verdadeira dos Trabalhos que ho Governador don Fernando de Souto y certos Fidalgos Portugeses passaram no Descobrimento da Provincia la Frodida. Agora novamente feita per hum Fidalgo d'Elvas*." Copies are extremely rare. The price of one, mentioned in Mr. Rich's "Catalogue of Books relating principally to America," is stated at £31 10s. sterling. It is a small octavo, in black letter.

but the account was evidently drawn up for the most part from memory, being vague in its descriptions, and indefinite as to localities, distances, and other points usually noted by journalists. This account was translated into English by Hakluyt, and published in 1609, with a very long title, beginning, "*Virginia richly valued, by the Description of the Main Land of Florida,*" &c. This little volume is extremely rare, not being included in either of the editions of Hakluyt's celebrated collection, though reprinted in the Supplement to that of 1809. The translator's object was to advance the purposes of the "Virginia Company," which had then recently been formed. Another English translation was published anonymously in the year 1686, entitled "*A Relation of the Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards under the command of Fernando de Soto.*" This was translated from the French version of Citri de la Guette, which appeared in Paris the year before.

The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega completed his work on Florida in the year 1591. It was first printed at Lisbon, in 1605.* The author's

* Entitled, "*La Florida del Ynca ; Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Governador y Capitan General del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos Cavallos Españoles é Indios ; escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega.*" The volume is a small quarto. A handsome

style is flowing and agreeable, but his fancy constantly takes the lead of his judgment, and no tale is too marvellous for his pen. It was one of his chief objects, as stated in his Preface, "to render justice to the memory of the brave Ferdinand de Soto, which has been cruelly defamed by certain English, French, and Italian writers." Hence a large portion of his work is taken up with the adventures of Soto. Although he wrote more than forty years after the death of his hero, yet he had no other written materials for his guidance, than those which had been furnished by the "*Gentleman of Elvas*"; and in fact, the narrative of this unknown person is the only authority, which can be considered of any value, respecting the wanderings of Soto. In several points Garcilaso differs from his original. Citri de la Guette says, that he took his account chiefly from the narration of a common soldier, who was in Soto's expedition, and this at least forty years after the events. Little could be gathered from such a source, which is worthy of confidence. Both of the accounts are too romantic and vague for history ;

edition in folio was printed at Madrid, in 1723. It has been twice translated into French, first by Baudoin, and afterwards by Richelet, and several times printed. A German translation was also published, in 1753; but the book has never been translated into English.

yet some of the names of places and of Indian tribes, and descriptions of the country, in the narrative of the anonymous Portuguese writer, could hardly have been given except from personal observation; and they render it in the highest degree probable, that Soto crossed the Mississippi near the thirty-fourth degree of latitude.

It may be doubted, at least, whether either of these works can be trusted, as affording genuine historical materials. They have been cited by respectable writers in default of other authorities; but they border so closely upon the regions of romance, that they may as justly be ranked in this class of compositions, as in that of history. This is generally conceded in regard to Garcilaso.* His predecessor, the *Gentleman of Elvas*, is thought to have higher claims; and perhaps he has; yet whoever follows him closely will be likely to run into ten errors in

* The French biographer of Garcilaso de la Vega, in the *Biographie Universelle*, apologizing for his want of accuracy, as compared with Herrera, says, "Cet écrivain recommandable a composé son histoire du Nouveau-Monde sur un grand nombre de matériaux tandis que, pour écrire celle du Pérou et de la Florida, Garcilaso n'avait que son patriotisme et son génie." Patriotism and genius are undoubtedly qualities of a high order in a historian; but it is equally certain, that, if he relies only on these, he will write a very indifferent history

arriving at a single truth, with the additional uncertainty of being able to distinguish the former from the latter. The narrative is moreover disfigured with descriptions of atrocious acts of injustice, oppression, and cruelty committed against the natives, as revolting to humanity as they were disgraceful to the adventurers. The thirst for gold, which was the stimulating motive to this enterprise, seems to have absorbed every other passion and every generous sentiment. Robbery, slavery, mutilation, and death were practised, not only without compunction, but apparently as means supposed to be justified by the cause in which they were engaged. In short, if this narrative is worthy of credit, few readers will be inclined to dissent from the remark of Philip Briet, in his *Annales Mundi*, that it is difficult to decide whether cruelty or avarice was the predominant trait in the character of Soto.

British writers have mentioned a subsequent discovery of the Mississippi, in 1654, by an Englishman named Wood. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find any proofs, that the Mississippi was ever seen by this person.*

* Professor Keating says, "This is not the same Colonel Wood of Virginia, whom Coxe mentions as having discovered several branches of the great rivers Ohio and Meschasebe." — *Lone's Expedition*, Vol. I. p. 236. But he gives us no clue for ascertaining what Wood it was

In short, the first Europeans, who are certainly known to have discovered and explored this river, were two Frenchmen, Father MARQUETTE and M. Joliet, in the year 1673. Marquette was a native of Picardy, and Charlevoix calls him "one of the most illustrious missionaries of New France," adding, that he travelled widely, and made many discoveries besides that of the Mississippi. He had resided some time in Canada, and attained a proficiency in the languages of the principal native tribes, who resided in the regions bordering on the Upper Lakes. The first settlement of the old town of Michillimackinac, in 1671, is ascribed to his exertions and influence.

The Indians had given many accounts of a great river at the West, which flowed southwardly, and which they called *Mississipy*, as the word is written by Marquette. It became a matter of curious speculation, what course this river pursued, and at what place it dis-embogued itself into the sea. There were three opinions on this subject. First, that it ran towards the southwest, and entered the Gulf of California; secondly, that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico; and thirdly, that it found its way in a more easterly direction, and discharged itself into the Atlantic Ocean somewhere on the coast of Virginia. The question was not less

important in a commercial and political view, than interesting as a geographical problem.

To establish the point, and to make such other discoveries as opportunities would admit, M. de Frontenac, the governor of Canada, encouraged an expedition to be undertaken. The persons, to whom it was intrusted, were M. Joliet, then residing at Quebec, and Father Marquette, who was at Michillimackinac, or in the vicinity of that place. Marquette wrote an account of his tour, and voyage down the Mississippi, which was sent to France, and published eight years afterwards in Paris. From this account the following particulars are chiefly taken. In some parts the translation is nearly literal, and all the prominent facts are retained.

On the 13th of May, 1673, Father Marquette and M. Joliet, with five other Frenchmen, embarked in two canoes, with a small provision of Indian corn and smoked meat, having previously acquired from the Indians all the intelligence they could afford respecting their proposed route.

The first nation through which they passed, was the *Folles Avoines*, (Wild Rice,) so called from the grain of that name, which abounds in the rivers and marshy lands. This plant is described as growing about two feet above the water, resembling European oats, and gathered by the savages during the month of September. The

ears are dried, separated from the chaff, and prepared for food either by pounding into meal, or simply boiling the grain in water.*

The natives, having been made acquainted by Father Marquette with his design of visiting the most remote nations, and preaching to them the Gospel, did their utmost to dissuade him from it, representing the cruelty of some of the tribes, and their warlike state, the dangerous navigation of the river, the dreadful monsters that were found in it, and, finally, the excessive heat of the climate.

He thanked them for their good advice, but declined following it; assuring them, that, to secure the success of his undertaking, he would gladly give his life; that he felt no fear of the monsters they described; and that their information would only oblige him to keep more on his guard against surprise. After having prayed, and given them some instructions, he parted from them, and arrived at the *Bay of Puans*, now called Green Bay, where considerable progress had been made by the French priests in the conversion of the Indians.

* Charlevoix mentions the *Folles Avoines* as residing on a small river, which flows into the Bay of Puans from the west. *Malhomines* was the name by which they were known among the Indians, and they were supposed to be a branch of the Pottowattomies. — *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Tom. III. p. 291.

The name of this bay has a less unpleasant meaning in the Indian, than in the French language, signifying also *salt bay*, which induced Father Marquette to make strict researches for salt springs in this vicinity, but without success. He concluded, therefore, that the name was given to it in consequence of the ooze and mud, deposited there, from whence, as he thought, arise vapors, that produce frequent and violent thunder storms. He speaks of this bay as about thirty leagues long, and eight leagues wide at its entrance, gradually contracting towards its head, where the flux and reflux of the tides, much like those of the sea, may be easily observed.*

Leaving this bay, they ascended the river, since known as Fox River, that empties into it. At its mouth, he says, the river is broad and deep, and flows gently; but, as you advance, its course is interrupted by rapids and rocks; which he passed, however, in safety. It abounds with bustards, ducks, and teal, attracted by the wild rice, which grows there. Approaching the village of *Maskoutins*, or *nation of fire*, he had the curiosity to taste the mineral water

*The appearance of these tides has attracted the notice of travellers from the earliest times, and has recently engaged the attention of scientific observers. Mr Schoolcraft has collected many facts on the subject. — *Journal of the Expedition under Governor Cass*, p. 373.

of a stream in its vicinity. The village consisted of three several nations, namely, *Miamis*, *Maskoutins*, and *Kikabeaux*. The first were the most friendly and liberal, and the finest looking men. Their hair was long over their ears. They were good warriors, successful in their expeditions, docile, and fond of instruction. They were so eager to listen to Father Allouez, when he was among them, that they allowed him no repose, even in the night.* The Maskoutins and Kikabeaux were coarser, and less civilized; their wigwams were constructed of rushes, (birch bark being scarce in this country,) and might be rolled up in bundles and carried where they pleased.

In visiting these people, Father Marquette was much gratified at seeing a large cross erected in the centre of the village, decorated with thank-offerings to the Great Spirit, for their success during the last winter. The situation of the village was striking and beautiful, it being built on an eminence, whence the eye overlooked on all sides a boundless extent of prairie, interspersed with groves and forests. The soil was good,

* Father Allouez was an enterprising and successful missionary. He arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie in 1668, and traversed the country between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan. Charlevoix speaks of his having visited the *Miamis* and *Maskoutins* the year before Marquette's expedition. — *Histoire*, &c. Tom. I. p. 448.

producing abundantly Indian corn, grapes, and plums.

Immediately on their arrival, Father Marquette and M. Joliet assembled the chiefs, and explained to them the objects of their expedition, expressing their determination to proceed at all risks, and making them some presents. They requested the assistance of two guides, to put them in their way; which request the natives readily granted returning for their presents a mat, which served them as a bed during the voyage. The next day, being the 10th of June, the two Miamis, their guides, embarked with them in sight of all the inhabitants of the village, who looked with astonishment on the hardihood of seven Frenchmen in undertaking such an expedition.

They knew, that within three leagues of the Maskoutins was a river, which discharged itself into the Mississippi; and further, that their course must be west southwest; but so many marshes and small lakes intervened, that the route was intricate; the more so, as the river was overgrown with wild rice, which obstructed the channel to such a degree, that it was difficult to follow it. On this account their guides were necessary, who conducted them safely to a portage, which was about two thousand seven hundred paces across. The guides aided them in transporting their canoes over the portage to the

river, which ran towards the west, and then they left them and returned.*

The travellers quitted the waters, which flow towards Quebec, five or six hundred leagues from that place, and embarked on an unknown stream. This river was called *Mescousin* (Wisconsin). It was very broad, but its bottom was sandy, and the navigation was rendered difficult by the shoals. It was full of islands, overgrown with vines; and the fertile banks through which it flowed were interspersed with woods, prairies, and groves of nut, oak, and other trees. Numbers of bucks and buffaloes were seen, but no other animals. Within thirty leagues of their place of embarkation, they found iron mines, which appeared abundant and of a good quality. After continuing their route for forty leagues, they arrived at the mouth of the river, in forty-two degrees and a half of latitude;† and on the 17th of June,

* This description of the wild rice in the river, and of the portage, agrees very exactly with that of Mr Schoolcraft. He says the portage is a mile and a half, being equal to two thousand six hundred and forty paces. And of the river he tells us, "It is filled with wild rice, which so chokes up the channel, that it is difficult to find a passage through it." — *Journal*, &c. pp. 363, 364.

† Father Marquette's estimate of the latitude approaches very near the truth. By a series of observations, Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, four or five miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin, has been ascertained to be 43° 3' 31". — *Lone's Expedition*, p. 245.

they entered with great joy the waters of the Mississippi.

This river derives its source from several lakes in the north. At the mouth of the *Mescousin* its channel was narrow, and it flowed onwards with a gentle current. On the right was seen a chain of high mountains, and on the left fertile fields interrupted by islands in many places. They slowly followed the course of the stream to the south and southwest, until, in forty-two degrees of latitude, they perceived a sensible change in the surrounding country. There were but few hills and forests. The islands were covered with beautiful trees.

From the time of leaving their guides, they descended the two rivers more than one hundred leagues, without discovering any other inhabitants of the forests, than birds and beasts. They were always on their guard, kindling a fire on the shore towards evening, to cook their food, and afterwards anchoring their canoes in the middle of the stream during the night. They proceeded thus for more than sixty leagues from the place where they entered the Mississippi, when, on the 25th of June, they perceived on the bank of the river the footsteps of men, and a well beaten path leading into a beautiful prairie. They landed, and, leaving the canoes under the guard of their boatmen, Father Marquette and M. Joliet set

forth to make discoveries. After silently following the path for about two leagues, they perceived a village, situate on the margin of a river, and two others on a hill, within half a league of the first. As they approached nearer, they gave notice of their arrival by a loud call. Hearing the noise, the Indians came out of their cabins, and, having looked at the strangers for a while, they deputed four of their elders to talk with them, who slowly advanced. Two of them brought pipes ornamented with feathers, which, without speaking, they elevated towards the sun, as a token of friendship. Gaining assurance from this ceremony, Father Marquette addressed them, inquiring of what nation they were. They answered, that they were Illinois, and, offering their pipes, invited the strangers to enter the village; where they were received with every mark of attention, conducted to the cabin of the chief, and complimented on their arrival by the natives, who gathered round them, gazing in silence.

After they were seated, the *calumet* was presented to them, and, while the old men were smoking for their entertainment, the chief of all the Illinois tribes sent them an invitation to attend a council at his village. They were treated by him with great kindness, and Father Marquette, having explained to him the motives of this voyage, enforcing each part of his speech

with a present, the chief in reply expressed his approbation; but urged him, in the name of the whole nation, not to incur the risks of a further voyage, and rewarded his presents by the gift of a *calumet*.

The council was followed by a feast, consisting of four courses, from each of which they were fed with much ceremony; and afterwards they were conducted in state through the village, receiving many presents of girdles and garters from the natives. The following day, they took leave of the chief, promising to return in four moons, and were accompanied to their canoes, with every demonstration of joy, by more than six hundred savages.

Before leaving this nation, Father Marquette remarked some of their peculiarities. The name *Illinois*, in the native language, signifies *men*, as if implying thereby, that other tribes are brutes in comparison, which in some sense Father Marquette thought to be true, as they were more civilized than most of the tribes. Their language, on the borders of the river, was a dialect of the *Algonquin*, and was understood by Father Marquette. In the form of their bodies the Illinois were light and active. They were skilful in the use of arms, brave, but mild and tractable in disposition. They were entirely ignorant of the use

of leather, and iron tools, their weapons being made of stone, and their clothing of the skins of wild beasts. The soil was rich and productive, and game abundant.

After this peaceful interview with the natives, the voyagers embarked again, and passed down the stream, looking out for the river *Pekitanoni* (Missouri), which empties into the Mississippi from the northwest. They observed high and steep rocks, on the face of which were the figures of two monsters, which appeared as if painted in green, red, and blue colors; frightful in appearance, but so well executed, as to leave Father Marquette in doubt, whether they could be the work of savages, they being also at so great a height on the rocks as to be inaccessible to a painter.

As they floated quietly down a clear and placid stream, conversing about the figures they had just passed, they were interrupted by the sound of rapids before them; and a mass of floating timber, trunks and branches of trees, was swept from the mouth of the *Pekitanoni* with such a degree of violence, as to render the passage dangerous. So great was the agitation, that the water was thereby made very muddy, and it did not again become clear. The *Pekitanoni* is described as a large river flowing into the

Mississippi from the northwest, with several villages on its banks.*

At this place Father Marquette decided, that, unless the Mississippi altered its previous course, it must empty its waters into the Gulf of Mexico; and he conjectured from the accounts of the natives, that, by following the stream of the Pekitanoni, a river would be discovered, which flowed into the Gulf of California.

About twenty leagues south of the Pekitanoni, and a little more to the southeast, they discovered the mouth of another river, called *Ouabouskigou* (Ohio), in the latitude of thirty-six degrees; a short distance above which, they came to a place formidable to the savages, who, believing it the residence of a demon, had warned Father Marquette of its dangers. It proved nothing more than a ledge of rocks, thirty feet high, against which the waves, being contracted by an island, ran with violence, and, being thrown back with a loud noise, flowed rapidly on through a narrow and unsafe channel.

* This relation agrees with facts, although the mudiness of the waters of the Missouri has been found to be produced by a different cause. "The painted monsters," says Stoddard, "on the side of a high perpendicular rock, apparently inaccessible to man, between the Missouri and Illinois, and known to the moderns by the name of *Piesá*, still remain in a good degree of preservation" — *History of Louisiana*, p. 17.

The Ouabouskigou came from the eastward, where the country was thickly inhabited by the tribe of *Chuouanons*, a harmless and peaceful people, much annoyed by the Iroquois, who were said to capture them as slaves, and kill and torture them cruelly.

A little above the entrance of this river were steep banks, in which the boatmen discovered iron ore, several veins of which were visible, about a foot in thickness, portions of it adhering to the flint-stones; and also a species of rich earth, of three different colors, namely, purple, violet, and red, and a very heavy red sand, some of which, being laid on an oar, left a stain during fifteen days. They here first saw tall reeds, or canes, growing on the shores, and began to find the *maringouins* (mosquitoes) very troublesome; the attacks of which, with the heat of the weather, obliged the voyagers to construct an awning of the sails of their canoes.

Shortly afterwards they saw savages armed with muskets, waiting their approach on the bank of the river. While the boatmen prepared for a defence, Father Marquette presented his *calumet* and addressed them in Huron, to which they gave no answer, but made signals to them to land, and accept some food. They consequently disembarked, and, entering their cabins, were presented with buffalo's meat, bear's oil, and fine plums

These savages had guns, hatchets, knives, hoes, and glass bottles for their gunpowder. They informed Father Marquette, that he was within ten days' journey of the sea; that they purchased their goods of Europeans, who came from the east; that these Europeans had images and beads, played on many instruments, and were dressed like himself; and that they had treated them with much kindness.* As they had no knowledge of Christianity, the worthy Father gave them what instruction he could, and made them a present of some medals. Encouraged by the information received from these savages, the party proceeded with renewed ardor on their voyage, between banks covered with thick forests, that intercepted their view of the prairies; in which, however, they heard at no great distance the bellowing of buffaloes. They also saw quails upon the shores, and shot a small parrot.

They had nearly reached the thirty-third degree of latitude, steering towards the south, when they discovered a village on the river's side, called *Metchigamea*. The natives, armed with bows and arrows, clubs, and tomahawks, prepared to

* Channels of trade had been opened with the Spaniards in Florida, and other Europeans in Carolina and Virginia. Colonel Wood is said to have crossed the Alleghanies from Virginia, in 1670; doubtless for this object.

attack them; some in canoes, trying to intercept their course, others remaining on shore. Father Marquette in vain presented his *calumet* of peace. They were ready to attack, when the elders, perceiving at last the *calumet*, commanded the young warriors to stop, and, throwing their arms at the feet of the strangers, as a sign of peace, entered their canoes, and constrained them to land, though not without some uneasiness.

As the savages were not acquainted with any of the six languages spoken by Father Marquette, he addressed them by signs, until an old man was found, who understood a little Illinois. Through this interpreter, he explained their intention of going to the borders of the sea, and gave the natives some religious instruction. In reply they answered, that whatever information he desired might be obtained at *Akamsca* (Arkansas), a village ten leagues lower down the river; and presented them with food. After passing a night of some anxiety, they embarked the following morning with their interpreter; a canoe with ten savages preceding them. About half a league from *Akamsca*, they were met by two canoes full of Indians, the chief of whom presented his *calumet*, and conducted them to the shore, where they were hospitably received and supplied with provisions. Here they found a young man well acquainted with the Illinois lan-

guage, and through him Father Marquette addressed the natives, making them the usual presents, and requesting information from them respecting the sea. They answered, that it was within five days' journey of Akamsca, that they knew nothing of the inhabitants on its borders, being prevented by their enemies from holding intercourse with these Europeans; that their knives and other weapons were purchased partly from the eastern nations, and partly from a tribe of Illinois, four days' journey to the westward; that the armed savages, whom the travellers had met, were their enemies; that they were continually on the river between that place and the sea; and that, if the voyagers proceeded further, great danger might be apprehended from them. After this communication, food was offered, and the rest of the day was spent in feasting.

These people were friendly and hospitable, but poor, although their Indian corn produced three abundant crops in a year, which Father Marquette saw in its different stages of growth. It was prepared for food in pots, which, with plates and other utensils, were neatly made of baked earth by the Indians. Their language was so very difficult, that Father Marquette despaired of being able to pronounce a word of it. Their climate in winter was rainy, but they had no snow, and the soil was extremely fertile.

During the evening the old men held a secret council. Some of them proposed to murder the strangers, and seize their effects. The chief, however, overruled this advice, and, sending for Father Marquette and M. Joliet, invited them to attend a dance of the *calumet*, which he afterwards presented to them as a sign of peace.

The good Father and his companion began now to consider what further course they should pursue. As it was supposed, that the Gulf of Mexico extended as far north as thirty-one degrees and forty minutes,* they believed themselves not to be more than two or three days' journey from it; and it appeared to them certain, that the Mississippi must empty itself into that gulf, and not into the sea through Virginia, at the eastward, because the coast of Virginia was in the latitude of thirty-four degrees, at which they had already arrived; nor yet into the Gulf of California, at the southwest, because they had found the course of the river to be invariably south. Being thus persuaded, that the main object of their expedition was attained; and considering, moreover, that they were unable to resist the armed savages, who infested the lower parts of the river, and

* It is hardly necessary to say, that, although this is nearly accurate, in regard to the most northerly part of the Gulf of Mexico, it is an error as to the mouth of the Mississippi, which is below twenty-nine degrees

that, should they fall into the hands of the Spaniards, the fruits of their voyage and discoveries would be lost, they resolved to proceed no further, and, having informed the natives of their determination and rested another day, they prepared for their return.

After a month's navigation on the Mississippi, having followed its course from the forty-second to the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, they left the village of Akamsca, on the 17th of July, to return up the river. They retraced their way, slowly ascending the stream, until, in about the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, they turned into another river (Illinois), which abridged their route and brought them directly to Lake Illinois (Michigan). They were struck with the fertility of the country through which that river flowed, the beauty of the forests and prairies, the variety of the game, and the numerous small lakes and streams which they saw. The river was broad and deep, and navigable for sixty-five leagues, there being, in the season of spring and part of the summer, only half a league of portage between its waters and those flowing into Lake Illinois. On its banks they found a village, the inhabitants of which received them kindly, and, on their departure, extorted a promise from Father Marquette to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs, accompanied by the

young men, conducted them as far as the Lake; whence they proceeded to the *Bay of Puans*, where they arrived near the end of September, having been absent about four months.*

Such is the substance of Father Marquette's narrative; and the whole of it accords so remarkably with the descriptions of subsequent travellers, and with the actual features of the country through which he passed, as to remove every doubt of its genuineness. The melancholy fate of the author, which followed soon afterwards, was probably the reason why his expedition was not in a more conspicuous manner brought before the public.

* The following distances have been communicated by General Wool, Inspector General of the Army of the United States, who is personally acquainted with the route, and has had the best means of forming an accurate estimate.

	Miles.
From Green Bay up Fox River to the portage, .	175
From the portage down the Wisconsin to the Mississippi,	175
From the mouth of the Wisconsin to the mouth of the Arkansas,	1087
From the Arkansas to the Illinois River, . .	547
From the mouth of the Illinois to Chicago, .	305
From Chicago to Green Bay by the Lake shore, .	260
Total,	2549

General Wool observes, that some persons estimate the route about fifty miles more, but he thinks it will

In addition to this narrative, nothing is known of Marquette, except what is said of him by Charlevoix.* After returning from this last expedition, he took up his residence, and pursued the vocation of a missionary, among the Miamis in the neighborhood of Chicago. While passing by water along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan towards Michillimackinac, he entered a small river, on the 18th of May, 1675. Having landed, he constructed an altar, performed mass, and then retired a short distance into the wood, requesting the two men, who had charge of his

rather fall short than exceed the above result. It would appear, therefore, that the whole distance, passed over by Marquette and Joliet in this tour, was at least two thousand five hundred miles.

Considering the manner in which Father Marquette travelled, being conveyed in boats up and down rivers, through an unknown country, it cannot be supposed that his estimate of distances would be exact, particularly as he had no means of deciding the velocity with which he was carried along by the currents of the streams. Deceived by the rapid motion of the water, he reckoned the distance from the portage to the mouth of the Wisconsin to be forty leagues, or one hundred and twenty miles, whereas General Wool states it to be one hundred and seventy-five; and Mr. Schoolcraft, who ascended the river, estimates the distance at one hundred and eighty-two miles from Prairie du Chien to the portage.

* *Histoire de Nouvelle France*, Tom. III. p. 314.

canoe, to leave him alone for half an hour. When the time had elapsed, the men went to seek for him and found him dead. They were greatly surprised, as they had not discovered any symptoms of illness; but they remembered, that, when he was entering the river, he expressed a presentiment that his voyage would end there. To this day the river retains the name of *Marquette*. The place of his grave, near its bank, is still pointed out to the traveller; but his remains were removed the year after his death to Michillimackinac.

The manuscript of Father Marquette, containing the particulars of his voyage, was sent to France, where it fell into the hands of Thevenot, who had recently published a large collection of miscellaneous pieces, entitled, "*Relations de divers Voyages Curieux*," &c. in two large folio volumes. Having subsequently collected a few other curious tracts, he gave these to the public, under the title of "*Recueil de Voyages*," a small duodecimo volume, printed at Paris in 1681. In this work the Narrative of Marquette first appeared, under the title of "*Découverte de quelques Pays et Nations de l'Amérique Septentrionale*," accompanied with a map. It occupies forty-three pages.

A very defective and erroneous translation was published at London, in 1696, as a supplement to

an edition of Hennepin; but it was here thrown into the shade by the pretended discoveries of that mendacious traveller, who, several years after the death of La Salle, falsely assumed to himself the merit of having descended the Mississippi to its mouth. Hennepin was never below the confluence of the Illinois with the Mississippi. By the order of La Salle, and in company with M. Dacan, he went down the former river, and up the latter as high at least as the *Falls of St. Anthony*. This was in 1680, seven years after Marquette's expedition. All the discoveries made by Hennepin were above the mouth of the Wisconsin. He claimed nothing more in the first edition of his work; but, after La Salle's death, he fabricated the tale of his voyage down the Mississippi, and mingled so much falsehood with truth, that it is now difficult to separate the one from the other. To him belongs the honor, however, of naming the Falls of St. Anthony and the country of Louisiana. It is said by Charlevoix,* that the name of *Louisiana* was given by La Salle, who descended the Mississippi in the year 1682; but it is doubtful whether it can be found in any printed work before Hennepin's "*Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683." This contains a dedication to Louis the Fourteenth, adulatory in the

VI.—13 * *Histoire*, &c. Tom. I. p. 571.

extreme, and it is believed the name was given for the same end. In his second edition, which was prepared in Holland, he complains of being neglected by the King of France, and changes the title of his book to "*Nouvelle Découverte d'un très Grand Pays situé dans l'Amérique, &c.* Utrecht, 1697." To this edition is prefixed a dedication to William the Third, King of Great Britain, more laudatory if possible than the one to Louis. In the Preface he utters bitter invectives against his enemies, who, from his own account, were very numerous; and he endeavors to explain, by a series of puerile and improbable statements, the reasons why he did not claim the discovery of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico, before the death of La Salle.

The publications of Hennepin, the descriptions of the enterprising adventures and discoveries of La Salle, and the premature death of Marquette, were among the principal causes why the services and the *Narrative* of the last were overlooked, and in a measure forgotten. Indeed, they would hardly have escaped from oblivion, had not Charlevoix brought them to light, in his great work on Canada, nearly seventy years after the events.*

*There is a curious passage relating to this subject in a volume, entitled "A Description of the English

The narrative itself is written in a terse, simple, and unpretending style. The author relates what occurs, and describes what he sees, without embellishment or display. He writes as a scholar, and as a man of careful observation and practical sense. There is no tendency to

Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane; by Daniel Coxe." This volume was printed at London in 1722, and contains a full description of the country bordering on the Mississippi. The author's father claimed a large territory in Louisiana by virtue of a charter, which had been granted to Sir Robert Heath by King Charles the First. He endeavors to prove, that the English discovered the country before the French, and among other proofs he adduces the following.

"In the year 1678, a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded as far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the river Mississippi; and at their return rendered an account to the government of Boston, as will be attested, among others, by Colonel Dudley, then one of the magistrates, afterwards Governor of New England, and at present Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight, under the Honorable the Lord Cutts. The war soon after breaking out between the English and the Indians, many of the Indians, who were in that expedition, retreated to Canada, from whom Monsieur La Salle received most of his information concerning that country, by him afterwards more fully discovered. And they served him for guides and interpreters, as is attested by Monsieur Le Tonty, who accompanied M^{onsieur} La Salle; as also by Mon-

exaggeration, nor any attempt to magnify the difficulties he had to encounter, or the importance of his discoveries. In every point of view this tract is one of the most interesting among those, which illustrate the early history of America.

sieur Le Clerc, in a book published by order of the French King."—p. 117.

This extract is from a memorial presented to King William, in favor of Coxe's claim, in the year 1699. The Attorney-General reported that Coxe's title was good in law.

The substance of the above paragraph is repeated in a pamphlet, published in the year 1762, after the preliminaries of peace between England and France had been made known, and entitled "An impartial Inquiry into the Right of the French King to the Territory west of the Great River Mississippi, in North America, not ceded by the Preliminaries; including a Summary Account of the River and the Country adjacent." It is stated in this pamphlet, that, "in the year 1678, some New England men went on discovery, and proceeded the whole length of the southern coast of the continent as far as Mexico; at their return rendering an account of their proceedings to the government of Boston."—p. 53. How far these statements are borne out by other testimony, I have not had the means of ascertaining; but, if they are correct, the lower waters of the Mississippi were discovered and crossed by these adventurers from Massachusetts, four years before the river was descended by La Salle, and five years after the upper waters had been discovered by Marquette.

Marquette's map, attached to the *Narrative* in Thevenot's "*Recueil*," is unquestionably the first that was ever published of the Mississippi River. In this light it is extremely curious; but it is also valuable as confirming the genuineness of the *Narrative*. It was impossible to construct it, without having seen the principal objects delineated. The five great rivers, Arkansas, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, and Wisconsin, in regard to their relative positions and general courses, are placed with a considerable degree of accuracy. Several names are entered on the map, which are still retained, and near the same places, with slight differences in the orthography. The Wisconsin (or, as the French write it, *Ouisconsin*) is written "*Missiousing*" in the map. It is "*Mescousin*" in the *Narrative*, perhaps by a typographical mistake for "*Mesconsin*." The Missouri, it is true, is named in the *Narrative* "*Pekitanoni*," which it may at that time have been called by the natives; but in the map a village is placed on the bank of that river, called "*Oumissouri*."

The Ohio River is named "*Ouabouquigou*," in which we may see the elements of *Ouabache*, which name it retains in all the early French maps, the river itself being denominated by what is now regarded as one of its principal branches.

The Arkansas is not named on the map, but

In the Narrative we are told of the village of 'Akamsca,' near the banks of that river, which is evidently the same name.

To the northward of the Arkansas is a place on the map called "*Metchigamea*." The same name is found to this day on French maps, applied to a lake very near the same place, and a little to the northward of the River St. Francis.

It should be kept in mind, that this map was published at Paris in the year 1681, and consequently the year before the discoveries of La Salle on the Mississippi, and that no intelligence respecting the country it represents could then have been obtained from any source subsequently to the voyage of Marquette. There is a slight error in the map in regard to the dotted line marked "*Chemin du retour*," because the Narrative is very explicit in stating, that the voyagers returned up a river, which, from the description given of it, could be no other than the Illinois. This dotted line, therefore, must have been a conjectural addition.

M. Joliet separated from Marquette at Green Bay, and returned to Montreal. In passing the rapids, just before he reached that city, his canoe was upset, and his journal and all his other papers were lost. He dictated a few particulars relative to his voyage down the Mississippi.

pi, amounting to no more than three or four pages, which were published, and which agree, as far as they extend, with Father Marquette's Narrative

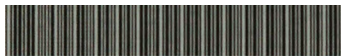
In Francis de Creux's *Historia Canadensis* is a map of Canada, which purports to have been drawn in 1660. It includes the Island of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New England, extending to the westward so far as to take in a small part of Lakes Superior and Michigan. The latter is called *Lacus Magnus Algonquiorum*. The river St. Lawrence and its branches, and the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, are well delineated on this map; but it does not cover any part of the territory embraced in the one, which accompanies the Narrative of Marquette. As before said, this map is manifestly original, and the first that was sketched of the Mississippi and its great tributary streams.

THE END.

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